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The Americanization of the Augustana Lutheran Church

by

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Introduction.

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the means by which and the extent to which the Augustana Lutheran Church has become americanized. When the Augustana Synod, as it was then called, was formed in 1860, it was a Swedish-speaking, Swedish-thinking, and Swedish-acting church, whose members possessed a profound love for their homeland. The Church of Sweden was often disparaged by the Swedish Lutherans in America, but this did not alter the fact that at its inception, the Augustana Synod was a distinctly Swedish group. Today, however, it is no longer correct to speak of Augustana as "the Swedish Lutheran Church" in America. The Augustana Church is now as American as it once was Swedish, and this has been generally true ever since the 1920's. Hence it took but two generations for this immigrant church to become an indigenous church. The Augustana Church of the present not only employs the language of our nation, but it has also adopted many ecclesiastical and theological attitudes and practices which are quite clearly American in nature. This is not to say, however, that the Swedish heritage has been entirely dissipated. Such is not the case. But those who belong to the Augustana Church today know that they belong to a church that is truly American.

As a result of this transition, the question is not, "Has the Augustana Church been americanized?" but rather, "Exactly how did this happen, and to what extent?" In other words, "What forces and factors so worked upon and influenced the immigrant Augustana Synod that it soon became the indigenous Augustana Church?" In seeking to answer this question particular attention will be given to the interaction between the Swedish heritage and the American environment.

But first of all a word about the term "americanization" as it will be used in this paper. In a letter to the writer dated February 1, 1952, Dr. Sam Rönnegård, Swedish Lutheran pastor-scholar of Garpenberg, Sweden, wrote that "'americanization' must be more than a new language." That is obviously true. The transition from the use of the Swedish language to the English was a very difficult one in Augustana circles, and also extremely vital in the process of americanization. At the same time, however, much more was implied. Victory in this linguistic struggle was vital and perhaps climactic, but the story does not end at that point, nor did it begin there.

What then does one imply when "americanization" is used in this connection? In his book, World Immigration, M. R. Davie has said this by way of definition : "Literally, the term 'americanization' means to render American; that is, to bring to a resemblance, conformity, or identity in culture with Americans, to stamp with American characteristics. The process is one of assimilation to the American cultural heritage."[1] Another writer, Stow Persons, writes that "americanization was much more than merely a set of naturalization laws or formal requirements for admission to the country. It was a largely unconscious process by which Americans imposed their own standards and ideals upon newcomers. . ."[2] These statements help to illustrate one phase of this subtle process, the one for which America and Americans are responsible.

But while America will try to americanize, not all foreigners

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1. M. R. Davie, World Immigration, (New York, 1946), p. 498.
2. Stow Persons, "The Americanization of the Immigrant," in David F. Bowers, editor, Foreign Influences in American Life, (Princeton, N. J., 1944), p. 40.

are as susceptible to this process as are some others. What then of those who formed the Augustana constituency? In this respect, the Swedes, like all of the Scandinavian peoples who came to America, have a good record. Critics agree that the Scandinavians, by and large, have americanized as readily and as rapidly as any non-English speaking peoples who have come to our shores. Geo. T. Flom has written the following : "Much has been written about the Scandinavian as a highly desirable immigrant. . . He has been a desirable immigrant because he comes from countries where there is less illiteracy than in any other part of the world. . , because he always comes with the intention of becoming an American citizen. . .

"By more than one writer thay have been pronounced our most law-abiding citizens. The Scandinavian readily enters into the spirit of American institutions because he comes from countries whose laws and institutions are so very much like our own. . ."[1] The great Frederick Jackson Turner, speaking of pioneer days in Wisconsin, said that "her foreign element is slightly less than Minnesota's, and in the latter state the Scandinavians take the place held by the Germans in Wisconsin. The facility with which the Scandinavians catch the spirit of Western America is much greater than is the case with the Germans. . ."[2] Thus it might be said here that the Augustana Church "was stamped with American characteristics," not least of all because "the Scandinavian readily enters into the spirit of American institutions. . ." That is a simplification, of course, but it helps to explain what is meant by americanization in relation to the Augustana Lutheran Church.

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1. George T. Flom, "The Scandinavian Factors in the American Population," in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, 1905.
2. F. J. Turner, The Frontier in American History, (New York, 1921), p. 234.

Perhaps it may be asked : is it possible to americanize a church? It would be too much to expect, of course, that all of the individual members of a large group would feel exactly the same about all of the problems dealt with in a study of this kind. That, in all likelihood, would never happen. It is entirely correct to refer to Augustana as an American church today, but if one were to go to Rockford, Illinois, some Sunday morning, he would soon discover that many of the Augustana people in that small city are still quite Swedish in many respects. But does that destroy the basic assumption relative to the americanization of the Augustana Church? Not at all, in the opinion of the present writer. For when seen as a unit, there can be no doubt that the Augustana Lutheran Church of the present period is distinctly American, even though some of its members may not be.

Thus, when one speaks of the americanization of the Augustana Church in this paper, the reference will be to the official unit, or group. Exceptions will be recognized only when necessary. This rule has been adopted not because the writer is fearful or desirous of ignoring the exceptions, but simply because there is no other intelligent way of treating such a topic.

Elbow Lake, Minnesota, June 1, 1954.

PART ONE

"The Swedish Background"

Part One - "The Swedish Background."

I.

The subject of this thesis is the Augustana Lutheran Church of North America. But while the subject is American, he who would understand it and explain its fortunes here in the United States must begin by describing the milieu out of which it came. Augustana eventuated and developed on American soil, but its original impulses came from Sweden.

Thus it is that the first chapter of this study will present a brief discussion of the land which influenced both the founding and the development of our subject. A description of the America to which the Swedes came will follow. Apart from this background information the true story of the americanization of the Augustana Lutheran Church could not be properly told.

II.

Generally speaking, Sweden was a land in transition during the middle of the nineteenth century -- the period which saw the beginning of extensive emigration to America. Internal dissension and turmoil characterized many European nations at this time; 1848 is usually remembered as "the year of revolutions." It is not surprising, therefore, that Sweden was also affected. When the February revolution of 1848 broke out in Paris (the revolt which caused the abdication of Louis Philippe and led to the formation of the Second French Republic[1]),

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1. Cf. A. F. Tyler, The Modern World, (New York, 1939), pp. 520-523.

George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota reports that this "was echoed in Sweden in the formation of reform societies and in mass meetings. . ."[1] But the alterations in Swedish society were not accompanied by the violent struggles which other nations endured at this time. Profound and sweeping changes were made in Sweden, but, as Professor A. F. Tyler, also of Minnesota, opines, the Swedes (like the other Scandinavians) "went on as before, quietly adapting themselves to new conditions by economic and political changes. Liberalism, nationalism, and industrialization all played a part in that development but without violent disturbances."[2]

One of the most significant changes which took place in Sweden during this period was the redistribution of the land, which, as we shall see, did much to alter Swedish society. But this was done legally, and in a comparatively calm manner. Sweden, before the coming of the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, was an agricultural country. A Swedish scholar, Emil Liedgren, has written that "At the beginning and until the middle of the nineteenth century, Sweden was decidedly an agricultural nation. Nearly nine-tenths of its population lived on the land. . ."[3] Before the great land reform took place, the Swedish farm family did not live alone on its own land, but in small villages out in the country -- perhaps a dozen or two dozen families living together in their own little community.[4] So the land that the farmer

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1. G. M. Stephenson, The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration, (Minneapolis, Minn., 1932), p. 134.
2. A. F. Tyler, op. cit., p. 511.
3. Emil Liedgren, Svenska Kyrkans Historia, seventh volume, second part (Uppsala, 1946), p. 11.
4. Hilding Pleijel, Från Fädernas Fromhetsliv (Lund, 1939), p. 143.

tilled was not all in one piece, but might be divided up into a dozen or more scattered plots. That was the great fault in this otherwise idyllic situation, and the immediate cause of the redistribution of the land. For the authorities could see, as many conservative peasants did not, that progress in such a situation was virtually impossible.[1]

It was in 1757 that the government took the first step to correct this fault through the unification of farm holdings. It took seventy years, however, or until 1827, before a law was passed which finally completed this huge task.[2] And "With the breaking up of the villages caused by the parcelling out of the land, a great change took place in the life of the rural communities. There was a depressing isolation, and unhappiness increased. With the great improvement in means of communication, there was a heavy migration from the farms to the cities and the factories."[3] The breakup of the old farm community prepared the way for the Swedish industrial revolution and the eventual urbanization of the land.

Professor Pleijel has seen another important result of this enforced remodeling of Swedish society. "The family which was torn out of the enclosed village area also broke loose from the collectivistic community and therewith became isolated from the traditional devoutness which had been developed and emphasized during the centuries. The village community, on a small scale, had reflected the ecclesiastical community, and it formed an important, not to say necessary, prerequisite for the

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1. Ibid., p. 146.
2. Ibid., p. 147; E. Liedgren, op. cit., p. 12.
3. G. M. Stephenson, op. cit., p. 105, quoting E. H. Thörnberg in the Svensk Tidskrift (1926), pp. 298-310.

organization and content of church life. But when the outer frame, the village community, was no longer to be found, this life had to search for new forms for itself."[1] In other words, the individual was now forced to accept a freedom in religious matters which had not formerly existed, save in theory. As a result, new religious forms and ideas inevitably came into being.

But where were these new ideas to take form? Sweden, unfortunately, was not a fertile field for the growth and development of new religious ideas at this time. The law which enfranchised dissent was not enacted until 1858. But there was a solution. For the breakup of the old farming communities not only gave birth to a changed religious climate, it also prepared the way for emigration to America. Writing in Sweden's detailed Emigrationsutredningen ("The Analysis of Emigration"), Nils Wahlin noted that "emigration began in Sweden when peasants in various places voluntarily sold their homes and went to America. And it could not be clearer, that the undermining of the peasant class's ancient attachment to the soil of the fathers was one of the emigration phenomenon's primary causes. . ."[2]

A second major change in nineteenth century Sweden was caused by the industrial revolution,[3] which seriously affected spiritual aspects of Swedish life.[4] Sweden was prepared for the change to an industrial

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1. H. Pleijel, op. cit., p. 148.
2. Nils Wahlin, "Faran af Bondeklassens Undergräfvande," in Emigrationsutredningen, Bilaga X (Stockholm, 1910), p. 81.
3. In 1850 there were 351,000 Swedes living in towns, and 3,131,000 in rural districts. In 1947, 3,785,000 lived in towns, while 3,057,000 lived in rural districts. Cf. Arvid Eldh, Facts about Sweden (n.p., n.d.), p. 8.
4. Hj. Holmquist, Handbok i Svensk Kyrkohistoria, Del III (Stockholm, 1941), p. 41.

economy. Theredistribution of the land, as has been seen, provided a proletarian working force. Moreover, Sweden was a land of debasing poverty, a fact which served as a springboard from which the industrial revolution was catapulted. In describing this period of need, the eminent Swedish historian, Hjalmar Holmquist, lists "surplus population, grain crisis and the lack of earning potential in the forested areas," and adds : "need through crop failure could become dreadful, inasmuch as the supply of money was still extremely short. In the life of the people it seemed as though one lived under the tyranny of the devil."[1] An article contributed to the newspaper Wäktaren in the spring of 1854, written by a traveller, mentions "bands of beggars, with faces pale and sunken with hunger, with clothing of rags, with emaciated limbs. . . One sees such at villages, farms, bridges, courts, inns, yes, nearly everywhere; and if one goes in to stay in the private dwelling of a friend, he is followed even there by these starving people. One cannot help but see them, provided one is not a distiller of liquor; for such persons see nothing, know nothing, hear nothing, save that there is well-being and plenty in the land."[2]

The writer has a great uncle, Mr. John Lund of Lafayette, Minnesota, who was born in Sweden in 1860 and emigrated to America at the age of 15. His mind and memory are still clear, and he described the Sweden of his boyhood in substantially the same terms as those quoted above. In the winter months he and the members of his family often had to go hungry.

But then came the factories and the railroads, the sawmills and

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1. Ibid., p. 41.
2. Wäktaren (Stockholm), March 29, 1854.

the large joint-stock companies, together with the liberalism in politics and the middle-of-the-road socialism which are Sweden's hallmarks today. Today, thanks to the industrial revolution, Sweden (as the writer knows from first-hand experience) is economically an entirely different country. Modern Sweden is a prosperous land, all of whose 7,000,000 citizens are well provided for.

This further remaking of Swedish society also affected the religious life of the nation, and to a large extent adversely. Why was this the case? Here is one interesting answer : "The unheard of increase in material culture, together with the mighty struggle between material interests, has so captured the minds of men that they find it ever harder to devote time/to the things which are eternal. The mechanical view of the world, enlarged upon by natural science, with its strict conformity to law and its conception of strict natural conformity, has left little room for a personal God and the responsibility of freedom in a personal sense. It is no wonder that under such conditions our former religious-thinking people began to be divided into two groups, the believing and the non-believing."[1] The term "non-believer" is a relatively new one in the Swedish language; it came into general use only after the middle of the last century.

But that was not all that the industrial revolution did to alter the religious situation in Sweden. For "in regard to religion," as Professor Holmquist has pointed out, "men first of all desired to break

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1. J. Källander, Svenskt församlingsliv under 1800-talet (Stockholm, 1912), p. 4.

the restraints which obstructed individual liberty. The right to free union was asserted. . ."[1] This was the free-church spirit, which emerged together with the spirit of secularism and religious indifference out of the Swedish industrial revolution.

III.

What about the Church of Sweden during these critical days of the nineteenth century? That is a question which must be answered at some length. First of all the positive aspects, of which there were many. Sweden has been a Lutheran land, by law, ever since the famous Uppsala convocation of 1593, when the three ecumenical creeds and the unaltered Augsburg Confession were officially adopted as normative for church life in Sweden.[2] An epic period, climaxed by the reign and the dramatic death of the hero king, Gustavus Adolphus, followed in the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century the rationalistic leaven of the Aufklärung made inroads into Sweden just as it did in other European nations at that time.[3] But the nineteenth century witnessed a healthy reaction in the direction of Lutheran orthodoxy. As Holmquist points out, this reaction was above all a continuation of the old Swedish orthodoxy which dates back to the Uppsala meeting itself.[4] Hence, if this be the case, it was not so much a new thing as the rediscovery of something old.

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1. Hj. Holmquist, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
2. Carl Grimberg, A History of Sweden, translated from the Swedish by C. W. Foss (Rock Island, Illinois, 1935), p. 135.
3. K. S. Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York, 1953), p. 1145.
4. Hj. Holmquist, op. cit., p. 52.

Thus it was that when the redistribution of the land was brought about, and when the industrial revolution and the period of intensive emigration began, the theology and religion of Sweden was still conservatively Lutheran. The Bible, the catechism, and the psalmbok were still the basic tools of Swedish Christianity. In the cathedral church parish in Västerås in the year 1850, 100% of the children born were baptized, and 45% of the 4,343 souls in the parish received holy communion.[1] In the entire Västerås diocese in the year 1870 only seventeen persons over the age of seventeen were unconfirmed.[2] The practice of husförhör, where the pastor would visit the homes of his parish in order to examine his peoples' knowledge of the catechism, was still in existence.

The Swedish Church of this era was also a strict liturgical church, in keeping with the best Lutheran tradition. It must be understood that the reformation in Sweden was carried out along extremely conservative lines.[3] One of the results of this is the fact that the framework of the old Roman mass can still be detected in the Swedish högmässa (literally, "high mass"). The chasuble and the chalice are still in use at Swedish altars. But in the middle of the last century, Swedish churches were not only liturgical -- they were also full of worshippers. In the 1830's, the congregation in Ljusnarsberg had a church which sat 1200 worshippers, but the bishop urged them either to enlarge or else to rebuild completely. This congregation (the Swedish församling) numbered some over five thousand souls at that time.[4] (The församling is also

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1. Ernst Enochsson, Den Kyrkliga Seden (Stockholm, 1949), pp. 333 and 348.
2. Ibid., p. 258.
3. Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York, 1943), p. 385.
4. E. Enochsson, op. cit., p. 33.

a unit for local government, including all who live within its boundaries).

It can also be said that in the Sweden of a century ago the church was the unrivalled center of community life. The Swedes do not usually call their church a state church (as we customarily do when we speak of it); they rather refer to it as a folk church (folk kyrka). This name was given because it was originally held that the people need the church just as they need homes and schools and other basic social units. Today, unfortunately, the Swedish Church is no longer the center for human life and aspiration that it was designed to be. But in former days it was a true church of the people.

Thorough and scholarly theological training was another hallmark of the Church of Sweden. The pastors were trained in either one of the two royal universities (which still have theological faculties), the older (1477) at Uppsala and the newer at Lund (1668). The faculties of the mid-nineteenth century produced much original thought and exerted real leadership in the church. "Uppsala stressed subjective experience and a philosophic view of Christianity. . . Lund exalted the church. . , and became the radiating center of a high-church tendency."[1] With the arrival of Professor Ebbe Gustaf Bring (ca. 1845), the University of Lund witnessed the formation of "the famous great faculty."[2] Professor Bring devised a course of study for practical theology that still proves useful.

A definite ascetic strain was also to be found within the Swedish Church at this time. Its chief manifestation, perhaps, was the fight against the abuse of hard drink. Drunkenness was prevalent, and private distilling, even in parsonages, was common. But the temperance movement, which was championed by the zealous Pastor Peter Wieselgren, soon spread

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1. K. S. Latourette, op. cit., p. 1146.
2. Hj. Holmquist, op. cit., p. 53.

over the land. A special attempt was made to reach the laboring classes with the temperance message.[1] The support of the crown prince (later King Oscar I) and a group of famous scientists helped the cause immeasurably. A major goal was won in 1854 when the riksdag passed a law which outlawed private distilleries.[2]

Finally, it can be noted that the Swedish Church was a well organized church, at least as seen from the point of view of its leaders. It is still an episcopal organization, complete with a college of sacramental bishops, of which the Bishop of Uppsala is primus. Each diocese is divided into a number of kontrakter ("districts"), each of which is supervised by a prost ("dean"). The districts in turn are divided into församlingar,[3] so that each square mile of Swedish soil is included under the supervision of the church. The kyrkoherde ("pastor") of the församling may have one or more assistants. Both churches and pastors are supported out of taxation. Hence the pastor is a civil servant as well as a shepherd of souls. He is responsible for keeping the vital statistics of his församling. Such was the case, and such is the case yet today.

The ledger has its debit side too however. One would be happy to report, for example, that the Swedish Church understood the new situation created by the redistribution of the land and the industrial revolution, and adapted itself to it in an intelligent Christian manner, but such was not the case. On the other hand, the folk church of Sweden became more impersonal and increasingly autocratic and aristocratic as the years

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1. K. S. Latourette, op. cit., p. 1148.
2. Carl Grimberg, op. cit., p. 354.
3. Cf. supra, pp. 8 and 9.

went by, and less able, as a result, to minister to its people and their problems, which became ever more complex.

And if it is asked who was at fault, the finger must be pointed at the leadership of the church, the bishops and the pastors. The evidence is overwhelming. A contributor to the famous liberal Stockholm newspaper, Aftonbladet, had this to say after first complaining about the harshness with which certain clergymen dealt with their parishioners : "These and similar facts, which are demonstrable in each case, if proof should be demanded, present to this extent the key to the aversion and antipathy which deplorably enough holds sway in many parishes against the church's privileged servants. . . Publicly to disclose these offenders ought to serve as something of a warning at least, and to reveal the need of a form of control. . , which is now completely lacking, at least within certain dioceses. This step would no doubt do more than any criminal law to prevent the development of separatistic movements and aberrations, which from the beginning have certainly originated in the way in which the clergy care for, or better still, neglect their office. For when the shepherd of souls really cares for his 'sheep' as 'the good shepherd,' and when he is fairminded, informed and a pious man of the spirit, then he wins both the love and full confidence of the people, and then the religious schisms which unfortunately reveal themselves in so many places do not come into being. . . But as long as the prelate looks upon himself chiefly as an authority to keep an ignorant peasantry within bounds, and in his vanity feels himself far superior to the people of the parish and placed there as their disciplinarian instead of their teacher. . . so long shall we seek in vain for the means with which to win peace and unity."[1] This article

1. Aftonbladet (Stockholm), April 19, 1855.

summarizes a major complaint; great masses of the people were highly dissatisfied with the clergy at this time, and both church and people suffered as a result.

Carl Wittke tells more about this same situation. "Ministers of the State Church seemed to be losing some of their spiritual interests," he notes, "and parishioners complained that their sermons were becoming merely literary performances on harmless subjects that had little in common with the austere, militant Lutheranism of other days. Some of the clergy. . . were more interested in the bottle and in dancing the first dance with every bride whom they married than in looking after the spiritual and moral health of their parishioners."[1] This grave indictment certainly could not have been drawn against all of the Swedish pastors at this time, but the fact that it could be made at all, by men of weight and probity, is most painful.

It must be admitted too that the theological climate in Sweden was somewhat clouded at the time of the great crisis. The spirit of romanticism had crept as far north as Sweden, and it influenced both clergy and laity. And in spite of its redeeming qualities, this spirit did not always serve the best interests of the church. "The leading men (in the church of the first half of the nineteenth century) are brilliant, richly equipped, extremely representative men, but in general they lack a deeper theological interest. Because of this they stand nonplussed before many of the problems of the time, and take their refuge as a general rule in orthodoxy, without seeking to deepen or renew it from within. At the same time they possess in their splendid classical education a certain prejudice against popular religious movements and fail to understand the

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1. Carl Wittke, We Who Built America (New York, 1940), p. 275.

power which religion has in itself. . . This means that when the awakening comes, they look upon it without realizing what is taking place."[1]

But this tendency was not altogether bad, for some of Sweden's greatest poets and hymnwriters came out of this period. The great Archbishop Johan Olof Wallin, who was almost solely responsible for the new Psalmbok of 1819, must be remembered in this connection, as a good example. The famous Swedish poet, Esaias Tegner, compared Wallin's hymnal "to the Old Testament psalter, and called Wallin 'David's harp in the North. . .'"[2] Then too, "The religiosity of romanticism exhibits many peculiarities, yes abnormalities, just like those it created in Germany and in other lands. Even among us it has been attacked, and not without reason, for various deficiencies and weaknessess. . . But it cannot be said that this was a 'faith without works.' On the other hand, it has exerted an ethical-religious influence that can scarcely be overestimated. Tegner, Wallin, and Geijer cannot be thought out of the history of our church. The second decade of the new century has brought with it a remarkable change of mind."[3] One is pleased to put this judgment on record. In the light of what happened in the nineteenth century, however, it is impossible to conclude that these few positive qualities were sufficiently redemptive. The story of religion in Sweden during the past century is one in which deterioration plays a dominant role.

Another weakness which must be noted, a weakness again identified with the ministerium, was the manner in which laymen were denied the right to assist in the discharge of religious responsibilities. Swedish laymen of a century ago were beginning to desire a greater share in the work of

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1. Emil Liedgren, J. O. Wallin (Stockholm, 1912), p. 31.
2. C. Grimberg, op. cit., p. 363.
3. E. Liedgren, Svenska Kyrkans Historia, p. 151.

the church, but this was steadily denied. Even today the amount of lay assistance in the Church of Sweden would be accounted small according to American standards. But whereas that might not offend the contemporary Swedish layman, such was not the case a hundred years ago and more, when interest in things religious was still at a comparatively high level.

The newspaper Wäktaren carried the following reprint from the Evangelisk Kyrkovän ("The Evangelical Church Friend") which bears on this subject : "It is true that laymen do have freedom to do spiritual work within the circle of their own household : but outside of the home, within the parish as a whole, this freedom has not been granted, either according to rule or in actual practice. . . This matter has been handled as though all spiritual gifts have been accumulated by the clergy, or else that they alone are sufficiently wise to use these gifts. . ."[1] One of the pioneer pastors of the Augustana Synod, Eric Norelius, who was born (1833) and reared in Sweden, made the following notation in his yearbook : "Instead of turning the laymen's activity into a movement of opposition and mistrust, it could have been an organized activity within the church, under the authority and guidance of the church. This was not done. . ."[2] This then was another point of disagreement between the church and some of its people, and it served to irritate an already unhealthy situation. But the church has always been a conservative institution, basically, and the Swedish branch is no exception. Because this is the case, it is not surprising that the Swedish Church of the nineteenth century continued to be an auto-

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1. Wäktaren, March 4, 1854.
2. Emeroy Johnson (translator), Early Life of Eric Norelius (Rock Island, Ill., 1934), p. 94.

cratic and aristocratic organization, in spite of the cries of dissatisfaction that were being raised.

But as time went on the relatively undiminished authoritarianism of the Church of Sweden was gradually questioned more and more. It is interesting in this connection to compare two reports from the Clerical Estate of the Swedish riksdag. In the first, from 1848, we read that "the battle which among foreign people has shaken the church has not failed to spread its effects, to a certain extent, even to us. These effects, however, have not been particularly virulent. The open attacks upon our evangelical faith in recent years have been isolated and unimportant. . ."[1] This report went on to deplore various unpleasant aspects of Sweden's moral, ethical and religious life at that time, above all the emigration of Eric Jansson and his followers to America, which was the first major utvandring. It does not seem, however, that the Swedish pastors were too concerned about these matters at this particular time.

Three years later, however, the prästestånd issued a report which had something of the defensive about it. "Even though no such direct attacks upon the main teachings of Christendom have been heard of in recent years, as in the time immediately previous, nevertheless such attacks undoubtedly have been made on the church, as a state church. The freedom of conscience guaranteed in our constitution has been interpreted as security for religious liberty; and it has been out of this confusion of concepts that the protests over the steps taken by the court have proceeded, steps by which the authorities have vindicated the Swedish

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1. Cleri Comitialis Circulär, 1847-1848 (Stockholm, 1848), p. 4.

Church's right to be protected from divergent and erring confessions within its inviolable sphere. And from out of this has arisen the question concerning the advantage or disadvantage of unlimited religious liberty, together with the community's right to decide. . . The North American union lacks that surest of all bonds of union, a state church, and the sectarianism there, side by side with the progress of industry, appears to resemble the latter's commercial speculations, which continually seek for new forms with which to attract consumers. . . No unity which is not of the spirit in the bonds of love and peace can withstand the pressure of time. With these and similar facts concerning the results of a non-constituted or a disestablished State Church, the fatherland ought to consider itself fortunate. For in the pure evangelical faith the fatherland has a definite form of confession, by which it has been protected from the majority of those errors which in other countries have harassed the conscience and disturbed the peace."[1] In this carefully worded document one can sense the fact that the Swedish Church was no longer as absolute in 1851 as it had been in preceding years. The process of wondering about and then finally questioning the oppressive power of the church, in the field of religious freedom, for example, was finally beginning to take form.

Earlier in the century earnest Christians had called into question some of the changes which the hierarchy had introduced into the church's rituals. In the words of Edvard Rodhe, former Bishop of Lund, "The new handbook of 1811 was disapproved, particularly because of the baptismal rite, for the old one. . . had been excluded. It was also discovered

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1. Cleri Comitialis Circulär, 1850-1851 (Stockholm, 1851), pp. 6-7.

that there was rationalism in Wallin's hymnbook and in the catechism of Lindblom. Therefore requests were made for the right to use the old church books. . ."[1]

That was the first of the protests elicited by the weaknesses in the church; it was also the preparation for greater demands which were to be made beginning in mid-century. The matter finally resolved itself into a debate concerning church polity and organization. It hardly paid to criticize the service books and the clergy, because the church was so organized and constituted that this was simply a vain kicking against the goads. Thus it was that interested parties began to orient their attacks upon the entire structural framework of the State Church, for if that could be altered, the dissenters would be free to leave the established church and use whatever books and rituals they wanted. Here are some more words on this subject by Bishop Rodhe : "The desire to leave the church gradually forced attention from the liturgical questions to the problem of ecclesiastical organization. How could it happen that a man could be so badly treated by the church, when he was conscious at the same time of his heart's desire to live a genuinely devout life? The answer, of course, was to be found in the organizational faults of the Swedish Church. In other parts of the world, however, superior ecclesiastical forms were to be found. The stream of emigration had begun, and the gates to the great West were open. Rosenius and his friends in Stockholm and around the country had had their gaze fixed upon Anglo-saxon nonconformity ever since Scott's visit in Sweden."[2] When the Swedish parliament passed the law of 1858

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1. E. Rodhe, Kyrka och Stat (Stockholm, 1912), p. 7.
2. Ibid., p. 8.

which rescinded the infamous konventikelplakatet of 1726 (the law which prohibited the free assembly of Christians outside of the church), then, as Professor Holmquist has put it "Ecclesiastical liberalism's immediate goal was reached."[1] Results came rather quickly after the struggle began.

The liberal press was of great assistance in pointing out the weaknesses in the church. The newspaper Bore, for example, editorialized thus on the subject : "Nearly all of Sweden's newspapers have expressed themselves with warmth over the absurdity in that law according to which citizens of our fatherland, which claims to be a part of civilized Europe, can yet in this day be sentenced to exile for their religious opinions. Reports of each such sentence passed here are circulated not only all over Europe, but as far as civilization reaches even in other parts of the world, and they are mentioned everywhere as an example of the most barbaric intolerance of which a Christian people are guilty in the middle of the nineteenth century."[2]

Stockholm's Aftonbladet probably played the leading role in the press's attack on Sweden's religious thralldom, and often spoke words of real wisdom. Here is an example from April, 1850 : "Within the Swedish Church there already prevails a great deal of hypocrisy, phariseeism, and false religion, simply because of fear for the religious laws. If one would now try to hold the church together simply by the use of external restraints, through a strict application of the laws against external defection, then the inner defections will become so much more general. . . Freedom of religion is like the freedom of the press, which warns against

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1. Hj. Holmquist, op. cit., p. 64.
2. Bore (Stockholm), Sept. 16, 1851.

danger and protects against conspiracy."[1] Aftonbladet had a large number of readers at that time (as it still does today), and its influence was far-reaching.[2] A liberal press in a literate nation was a factor to reckon with a century ago. In the struggle for religious freedom in Sweden, newspapers such as Aftonbladet deserve a great deal of credit.

Bore even went so far in 1851 as to advocate the disestablishment of the church (which hasn't been accomplished yet). In an editorial entitled "The Clergy ought not to concern Themselves with Politics,"[3] Bore wrote the following : "The church and the state, the highest forms of man's spiritual and secular society, cannot dispense with one another, but during humankind's progress toward true humanity they have ceaselessly striven after mutual independence. The proper agreement and the higher harmony between them can never come into being unless they are separate, each one of them possessing its complete individuality. This is nature's great law, which reveals itself even in the formation of human society."[4] This was an extreme position to take in 1851, and even though the ultimate goal of disestablishment has not yet been achieved, one-hundred and three years later, many lesser achievements have been attained by the disciples of religious freedom in Sweden.

A final illustration is drawn from the Stockholm newspaper, Dagligt Allehanda. After noting that church life definitely was on the decline in 1849, this paper asked, What is at fault?, and then proceeded

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1. Aftonbladet, April 18, 1850.
2. C. Grimberg, op. cit., p. 328.
3. The title of the editorial in Swedish : "Presterskapet bör ej befatta sig med politiken."
4. Bore, Feb. 12, 1851.

to answer thus : "The Lutheran Church's first and most distinguished symbol, the 'Augsburg Confession,' has expressed this truth in the seventh of its chief articles. . , 'that the church is not only a fellowship of external signs and practices, but above all it is a communion of faith and the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the faithful, which embraces all true Christians in all the world; that complete agreement in external practices and regulations is not necessary, and that the only things which are necessary are unity in the most important of the articles of faith and the use of the sacraments according to the word and institution of God.' Is the Swedish Church regulated according to this idea?"[1] The writer of this editorial then went on to say that he did not believe that the church was organized in keeping with the sense of the Augsburg Confession's seventh article, and he ended his polemic by comparing the Church of Sweden to the Church of Rome.

In spite of its weaknesses, however, the church did not give up without a struggle. Perhaps it was because of its weaknesses that the church fought to maintain the privileges and powers it had gained with the passing of the centuries. At any rate, its position in Swedish life was not surrendered in a spirit of supine indifference. The clerical estate of 1853-1854, for example, did not mince words in dealing with the hopes for disestablishment and free-churchism current at that time. "To stop now and consider at the very outset the idea of this much-praised religious freedom, the very name of which suggests its doubtful nature, one may simply raise this question : can the truth, the divine truth, be

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1. Dagligt Allehanda (Stockholm), Feb. 9, 1849.

more than one? Can there be more than a single correct faith and confession? Must not all of the aberrations from this one correct faith and confession be errors, more or less dangerous in the degree to which they are removed from the truth?. . . Is it not then a crime, an act of cruelty against the weak, the simple, the poorly informed, to employ an unlimited freedom of religion to expose them to all possible types of religious errors? Can it ever be wrong to prohibit the preaching and dissemination of that which one knows and believes to be misleading and pernicious? The Swedish Church and its clergy, therefore, had better consider more than once before they, yielding to the passing fancy. . , openly expose the confessors of that faith for which their greatest kings lived, worked, and gave up their lives, and which through the centuries has provided millions of Sweden's citizens with power in life and peace in death."[1]

The assumption of this attitude is not surprising. The Swedes who framed this statement, however, were no longer living in the days of the great Gustavus Adolphus, the hero king who died on the battle field of Lützen in 1632, fighting for the Lutheran cause. A new day had dawned in Sweden too, a day which was clamoring for freedom -- in religion as well as in other phases of life. And in this case it would seem that vox populi was vox dei; at any rate, as noted above, the will of those who desired freedom of religion in Sweden finally won the day, and in a relatively brief span of time too. One is led to expect that the undercurrent was present long before the actual waves began to beat upon the monolithic structure of the Swedish Church. A Swedish scholar, Bror Olsson, agrees

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1. Cleri Comitialis Circulär, 1853-1854 (Stockholm, 1854), p. 10.

with this supposition. In his opinion it was "pietism and Herrnhutism" which helped to erode the base of Sweden's "united church."[1]

IV.

In this last section of Part One it will be necessary to take a longer and closer look at the free-church tendencies of the Sweden of a hundred years ago. Chief of those which shall be considered is the so-called "evangelical awakening," which quite literally broke out in Sweden at this time. The historical preparation for this awakening can be traced back quite clearly into the eighteenth century, when the Swedish läsare ("readers") first began to make an impact upon the religious life of the nation.

First of all, then, who and what were the läsare? Dr. Hilding Pleijel, who is the professor of Church History at the University of Lund, will be turned to again in order to establish the chronology of this religious phenomenon. "As seen from the purely historical point of view," writes Pleijel, "one must limit the term läseri [the 'reader' type of pietism] to the popular religious movements of the pietistic and Herrnhut-inspired kinds which came to the fore during the last half of the eighteenth century and in the first decades of the nineteenth, movements which helped to prepare the way, in some parts of the country, for the great popular religious awakening which burst forth in the middle of the nineteenth century."[2]

The name läsare had its origins in the southwestern part of

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1. B. Olsson, Fran Martin Luther till Sven Lidman (Malmö, 1943), p. 77.
2. H. Pleijel, op. cit., p. 133.

Sweden.[1] Those to whom the label was attached were known for the zeal with which they read the Bible (and certain devotional books) and sang hymns from their favorite psalmbok. Some of the "readers" were also called "runners,"[2] because they would often travel many miles in order to listen to their favorite preachers, who were known as "the reader pastors."[3] As a result, the churches in which these men preached were often crowded with "readers."[4]

A more complete description of the "readers" is quoted in Doctor Pleijel's book from one Samuel Ödman, who, in Pleijel's words, speaks with "the authority of an eye-witness." Here are Herr Ödman's words, which were written at the end of the eighteenth century (1792) : "The new partisans, who are still contemptuously called readers, began this enthusiasm simply by staying away from the taverns and the dance pavilions and frivilous company, and by using all leisure time, especially Sunday evenings, to read God's word ever more earnestly. By degrees, however, certain incidents took place which aroused attention, particularly. . . the so-called workings, which were very similar to epileptic attacks. The women were especially affected by these phenomena, which ended with violent contortions of the body, deep sighs, prayers and admonitions. They were looked upon as the immediate results of the Holy Spirit's activity. Beyond this, however, these folks did not have any peculiar opinions in the doctrines of faith; they used orthodox books, such as Arndt's "True Christianity," Praetorius' "Spiritual Treasury," and "The Songs of Sion."

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1. Specifically in the province of Västergötland.
2. In Swedish, löpare -- a term of derision.
3. The Swedish term is läsarprästerna.
4. Gunnar Westin, Svensk Lutherdom i Brytningstider (Stockholm, 1949), p. 142.

They were zealous church-goers, they respected the sacraments, and tried to keep themselves untouched by the world."[1]

Thus it was that läseriet began, but it was not long before changes took place. Soon there were the "old readers" and the "new readers," each with their own peculiarities and emphases. It is not necessary here to take the time thoroughly to investigate läseriet in all of its branches, but it is of interest to call attention to the stress which the "new readers" placed upon the words and the works of Martin Luther. Pleijel notes that "these so-called new readers approved only of the Bible and the writings of Luther."[2] And Bror Olsson has said that Luther took a firm grip on the new readers because of his "clear and simple, sometimes drastic language, his intimate adherence to the text, and his penetrating illustrations of human life's inner and outer circumstances. . ."[3] This new emphasis provided the "reader" movement with a balance that it did not have at the outset.

Now what was the real significance of this peculiarly Swedish religious phenomenon? Its most immediate result, obviously, lay in what it did to help prepare the Swedish nation for the "great awakening" which it experienced in the mid-nineteenth century. Dr. Hilding Pleijel asserts that läseriets "greatest significance for Church History" lies in the fact that it infused "into the life of the church a new religious element, which gradually served to alter the entire religious atmosphere in our land, apart from which the great popular awakening of the nineteenth century just cannot be explained."[4]

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1. H. Pleijel, op. cit., pp. 134-135.
2. Ibid., p. 135.
3. B. Olsson, op. cit., p. 32.
4. H. Pleijel, op. cit., p. 139.

The line of demarcation between the "new readers" of the läsare movement on the one hand and the "pietists" of the evangelical awakening on the other is not always easy to find. But it is obvious that läseriet came first, and that following in its wake "the evangelical movement speedily expanded both into the North and into the South."[1] This is not to contend that all of this was done according to a master plan devised by the mind of man; not at all. It would rather appear that this is further evidence of the spontaneous "chain reaction" quality which our blessed Christian religion has always possessed, a quality that has conditioned and characterized Christendom in all parts of the world, Sweden included.

And the fact that this could happen in mid-nineteenth century Sweden is additional proof of the latent vitality that the Gospel has never lost. It might also be argued that this is factual evidence of the strength and fervor of läseriet. Be that as it may, the evangelical awakening of a hundred years ago provided Sweden with its last great religious movement, and it is not insignificant to note that this spiritual awakening coincided with the period of emigration which brought so many of the sons and daughters of Sweden to the United States.

One thing in which the awakening surpassed läseriet was in the number of persons affected. Professor Holmquist relates that the awakening pressed "down deep among the people. . . Eagerness to hear and read the word of God became general."[2] Reading the word was, as has been shown, the hallmark of läseriet; but here is a responsible historian who can report that the evangelical awakening caused this to become a general

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1. Sven Lodin, Carl O. Rosenius Unga År (Stockholm, 1933), p. 88.
2. H. Holmquist, op. cit., p. 45.

trait, something that was commonly done "among the people."

There are those persons, however, who do not believe that it is entirely correct to refer to this awakening simply as a religious phenomenon. The middle of the nineteenth century, it is remembered, was also "the time of liberalism's break through"[1] in Sweden, and this, it is argued, had profound implications for the awakening as well as for other aspects of Swedish life (secular and religious). The Herr Källander who was quoted above claims that these two movements, the awakening in the field of religion and liberalism in the field of politics "intermingle. . . at several points of contact."[2] Källander also feels that Swedish liberalism was a branch of the Anglo-saxon type, and that as such it was "congenitally inclined toward onesided individualism."[3] And one of the results of this characteristic, according to this same author, was that "the awakening came and was forced to take a stand against the church. . . and certain of her current laws."[4]

In any event, the evangelical awakening was very closely related to the free-church sentiment which contributed to the granting of religious freedom in Sweden in 1858 and to the formation of the various free churches (non-Lutheran) which have been organized there since that time. To point up this claim one can advert to the Stockholm journal Samtiden[5] which said this in commenting on the riksdag of 1853-1854 : "The religious movement which is now going on with all seriousness here in Sweden, has above all a pietistic tendency. From all parts of the country, even from

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1. In Swedish, liberalismens genombrottstid.
2. J. Källander, op. cit., p. 5.
3. Ibid., p. 5.
4. Ibid., p. 6.
5. "The Contemporary."

those which in this respect in recent years were the most calm and indifferent, one now hears the "reader frenzy" painted in the worst kind of colors. The separatistic movements are winds which as yet are stirring sporadically, but they all blow in the direction of free churchism. That these discontented separatists, the avowed enemies of the state church, are also for the most part the heralds of religious liberty, will not surprise anyone. The makers of konventikel and proselytes in all corners of the kingdom chime in with their chorus. And in the path which they have marked out are to be found the despisers of religion, freethinkers, and the politically radical of every color. The cry which they together strike up is this : crucify the state-church! Away with the konventikel-plakat and exile! Down with a privileged clergy!"[1] As has been noted, it was in 1858 that the pietists and the readers and the others who wanted to see religious freedom in Sweden got their way. The hated konventikel-plakat, which denied people the right to worship together outside of the parish churches controlled by the state, was rescinded by parliamentary act. Free churches, Baptist, Methodist, and others, immediately came into being.

It is true, however, that not all of the so-called pietists of the evangelical awakening were in favor of the free-church system in Sweden. Even the greatest pietist of them all, Carl Olof Rosenius, who succeeded the famous Methodist, George Scott, when the latter was forced to return to his native England because of his too-effective preaching in Stockholm, even Rosenius was somewhat lukewarm about the ideals of religious freedom

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1. Samtiden (Stockholm, 1858), pp. 454-455.

held by many pietists and others. Dean Newman reveals that many of the awakened "stood doubtful or directly opposed the new ideals of religious freedom."[1] Rosenius, to be sure, deplored the religious compulsion and coercion which literally forced many Swedes either to separate from the church or to emigrate from the country,[2] but he also opposed the hotheads who wanted to break all of the laws passed by or for the Swedish Church.[3] It might be said that C. O. Rosenius was something of a nineteenth century Puritan, who desired to retain and purify the church in which he had grown up.

But the clamor for religious freedom would not subside. And it must be said that the pietists, the products of the evangelical awakening, did their share to help attain the goal reached in 1858. Furthermore, this powerful spiritual awakening not only contributed to the formation of new non-Lutheran groups in Sweden; it also assisted in the formation of a new Lutheran Church in America. In the opinion of Professor Holmquist, "it was primarily the people of the Rosenius awakening who were attracted by America's religious freedom," and as a result, "an independent church was formed by the Rosenius influence outside of the borders of Sweden."[4] Dr. O. Fritiof Ander, the Professor of History at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, believes that "the Augustana Synod was a product of the religious revival in Sweden during the middle of the nineteenth century."[5] In regard to the origins and the founding of the Augustana Synod,

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1. Ernst Newman, Gemenskaps- och Frihetssträvanden i Svenskt Fromhetsliv, 1809-1855 (Lund, 1939), p. 254.
2. Ibid., p. 255.
3. Ernst Lönegren, C. O. Rosenius (Stockholm, 1913), p. 15.
4. H. Holmquist, op. cit., p. 50.
5. O. F. Ander, T. N. Hasselquist (Rock Island, Illinois, 1931), p. 38.

that is surely a valid opinion in the estimation of the present writer.

But as regards the synod's development, more of course must be said.

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PART TWO

"The Preparatory Period in America, 1845-1860"

Part Two - "The Preparatory Period in America, 1845-1860."

I.

In this first section of Part Two it will be necessary to say something about the America to which the Swedes came and in which the Augustana Synod was formed. The immigrants who arrived in the 1840's and 1850's found a land that was burgeoning with material and economic growth. One of the results of youthful America's second successful war with Great Britain (1812-1815) was a growing conviction of independence from European affairs on this side of the Atlantic; in this heady atmosphere, the United States of America "yielded itself to the processes of growth. . ."[1] Samuel Morison and Henry S. Commager have dubbed this period "America's awkward stage,"[2] but in spite of social crudities, the cotton kingdom grew in the South and the industrial empire expanded in the North. At the same time, the opening up of the great west, a factor of the profoundest importance for the immigrant Swedes, was being accelerated. Illinois was on the frontier in 1820, according to Frederick Jackson Turner, and thirty years later, when the Swedes began to come, the line had gone out into Kansas and Nebraska.[3] Fundamental to this phenomenal growth was the development of new means of communication, notably the railroad, the telegraph, and the steamboat.

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1. H. K. Rowe, The History of Religion in the United States (New York, 1924), p. 114.
2. S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, Vol. I (New York, 1942), pp. 493 ff.
3. F. J. Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1921), pp. 6-8.

The European immigrant of this era also came to an America in which he was free to make the very most of his abilities and ambitions. A visitor from Great Britain was moved to remark that "this country has had the rare advantage of growing into national greatness without having had to pass through the ordeal of feudalism, or being trammeled in her progress by the tyrannical influence arising from pride of Caste."[1] The American atmosphere gave life a gusto that the Old World did not seem to possess. A Scandinavian immigrant, writing from New York, said that he was hardly aware of the fact that America had a government.[2] Henry Steele Commager waxes lyrical when he writes about "the sense of spaciousness, the invitation to mobility, the atmosphere of independence, the encouragement to enterprise and to optimism" that the American environment afforded.[3] Here was freedom from suffocating controls and repressive customs; here was freedom to build, to invent, to create, "in an atmosphere where one man's success did not mean another's failure. . ."[4]

And nowhere was this environment of freedom more infectious than on and behind the westward-moving frontier. Individualism was fostered here as it never had been in the laissez faire areas of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Europe.[5] The feeling of isolation from Europe, coupled with a sense of almost perfect military security "inculcated as easy complaisance rarely enjoyed in the modern world. . ."[6] Optimism,

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1. Allan Nevins and H. S. Commager, A Short History of the United States (New York, 1945), p. 313.
2. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 496.
3. H. S. Commager, The American Mind (New Haven, 1950), pp. 4-5.
4. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 496.
5. H. C. Hubbard, The Older Middle West, 1840-1880 (New York, 1936), p. 276.
6. Stow Persons in D. F. Bowers, op. cit., p. 45.

expansion and creative effort characterized life on the frontier. A mid-century magazine, The Genius of the West, wrote that the western mind is fortunate "from a thousand fortunate circumstances. . ; from the unbounded sense of freedom, from the release from conventionalities, from the inspiration which awakens in the heart by communion with the magnificence of boundless forests, prairies, streams and lakes."[1]

It must be acknowledged, however, that the immigrant wasn't always a frontiersman in the strict sense of the word. For the most part, the men who cleared the wilderness were the descendants of the older American stock which had learned most of what there was to know about pioneering between 1600 and 1800. And it was from these pioneers, in turn, that the immigrant farmers bought (or otherwise secured) their land. When the immigrants moved in, the older stock moved out. Thus it happened in Missouri, Illinois, and southern Wisconsin in the 1840's, and a similar transfer took place in Iowa and Minnesota in the 1850's and '60's.[2] The natives, who often "disported themselves riotously in the crossroads tavern. . ,"[3] were followed by the immigrants who wanted the chance "to hew out for themselves in a new country a destiny proportioned to the powers God had given them. . ."[4] Those who sought for such an opportunity surely were not disappointed, for here, as Hansen has said, was "American liberty with a vengeance."[5]

But the complete picture of mid-century America was not without

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1. As cited in H. C. Hubbard, op. cit., pp. 59-60.
2. M. L. Hansen, The Immigrant in American History (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 65-69.
3. Ibid., p. 113.
4. F. J. Turner, op. cit., p. 265.
5. M. L. Hansen, op. cit., p. 114.

its dark side too. The major problem, perhaps, was involved in the word "sectionalism," which was fraught at that time with grave questions for the present and even graver implications for the future. The Mason-Dixon line divided the nation into two markedly different sections. The North was fast becoming urban and industrial. Nearly all of the new blood which came into the country either stayed in the big cities of the East or else went out onto the farms of the West. The South, meanwhile, became increasingly dependent on cotton and slaves; heavy industry was virtually non-existent in the southern states. The gracious society of the South which is now "gone with the wind" was rural and patriarchal in its makeup. Even railroad construction was far less advanced in the South.[1] The end result was the creation of a different spirit in the two sections. Freedom and individualism dominated in the North, whereas a well-defined caste system, complete with masters and slaves, prevailed in the South. Which emphasis would win out? That question became increasingly important as the years went by.

The holding of slaves eventually proved to be the biggest bone of contention. Of a total population of 23,000,000 in 1850, 3,200,000 were slaves.[2] But while many in the North insisted that slavery either be abolished or else effectively contained, the supporters of the system in the South found more and more reasons for its retention and growth.[3] Matters finally came to a head with the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. The slave states began to secede from the Union shortly after the

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1. Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 228.
2. Ibid., p. 215.
3. Ibid., pp. 216-217.

November election, claiming self-preservation as their chief reason for taking this drastic step.[1] And even though the President insisted in his March (1861) inaugural that "we are not enemies, but friends,"[2] the War between the States broke out less than six weeks later. For four long and bloody years the malignant curse of civil war festered on the body politic. And with the cessation of hostilities in the spring of 1865 came the tortuous problems of the reconstruction,[3] all of which was unfortunately complicated by the untimely passing of Lincoln.

The innocent immigrant was often harassed by other problems too. Life in the newly-opened West was, as a rule, crude and taxing.[4] Hansen writes that "the history of nearly every immigrant settlement reveals that at some time it passed through this stage of drunkenness and revelry."[5] The pioneers who built the Augustana Church did not escape a proportionate share of frontier difficulties, as will be seen.

The amazing national development of the last part of the nineteenth century also brought problems in its wake. Immigrants came faster than the country could absorb them, the cities grew too big, the rich grew excessively rich, factories sometimes over-produced; in short, growth itself became a problem.[6] This was the so-called "gilded age," but for many the gilt was often tarnished. The severe financial panics of 1873 and 1893 were harsh realities that many citizens scarcely survived.[7]

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1. Morison and Commager, op. cit., p. 638.
2. H. S. Commager and Allan Nevins (editors), The Heritage of America (Boston, 1951), p. 647.
3. Ibid., pp. 800 ff.
4. Cf. O. E. Rølvaag's novel, Giants in the Earth (Northfield, Minn., 1927.)
5. M. L. Hansen, op. cit., pp. 113-114.
6. Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 390.
7. Ibid., p. 380.

Before ending this section, it will be necessary to say something about the status of American Christianity during the last half of the nineteenth century. At mid-century, evangelical Protestantism was strong and growing. Revivalism and the strong religious contributions of former generations helped to bear it up. Deism and Tom Paine, the bugbears of the church in the late eighteenth century, had been discredited.[1] The church was actually in great demand in the more settled areas of the expanding West. It was still looked upon, then,as the center of social and intellectual interests. Moreover, "it gave a conservative touch to an otherwise unsteady order."[2]

American Protestantism had acquired numerous characteristic traits by the time the Augustana Synod was founded (1860), The Puritan influence was strong in the typical Protestant church. Congregational polity became common here in America, for example, and the Puritans deserve much of the credit for introducing this type of church government into the New World.[3] The Puritan spirit also discarded the liturgical practices of the Church of England, abolished the office of the bishop, and proscribed the observance of holy days. European church architecture was also despised by the New Englanders, who chose to have a "meeting house" instead of a church, with the pulpit in the center, on a raised platform, with no religious symbols, and with a minimum of comforts. The sacraments were minimized, and a verbose kind of preaching, which often led to emotionalism and mass revivalism, took their place. Great revivals broke out in New England and elsewhere,[4] which transcended both confessional

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1. R. H. Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought (New York, 1940), pp. 12-13.
2. Avery Craven, "The Advance of Civilization into the Middle West in the Period of Settlement," in D. R. Fox (ed.), Sources of Culture in the Middle West (New York, 1934), p. 66.
3. William Warren Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York, 1939), pp. 72-77.
4. Ibid., Chapters IX and X, pp. 184-224.

barriers and denominational lines. As a result of this, much of American Protestantism was colored by the puritanic point of view in things ecclesiastical. Harvard College was founded by the Puritans (1636) in order to train men for the holy ministry,[1] but in spite of that splendid beginning theological training was soon underestimated by the Protestants of America.

More must be said to present a complete picture. The religious freedom granted by our American constitution, for example, has been one of the primary conditioning factors in our American form of Christianity. In the first place, this constitutional freedom has been responsible in a large measure for the growth of the democratic spirit which is so prevalent in the Protestant churches of our land. Then too, this complete separation of the church and the state has also given rise to what is known as "voluntarism." American Christians know that if they want a church in their community, they must first build it and then support it with their voluntary gifts. No assistance is anticipated from official sources. The third result of this religious freedom is denominationalism.[2] "In a country of free thinking like America it was inevitable that conflicting opinions should arise inside the denomination, and occasionally a section would drop off. . ."[3] Schisms and sects have played a role in American Christianity for many generations, and not least of all in the turbulent nineteenth century.

In addition to these general characteristics, many of which would still apply to a "typical" American church, the last half of the past century witnessed the growth of a number of new developments which

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1. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
2. H. K. Rowe, The History of Religion in the United States (New York, 1924), p. 58.
3. Ibid., p. 120.

are identified in a special way with that era. It was natural in the "gilded age," for example, that the churches too should become wealthier than in days when money was not so plentiful. And as befitted that stronger material position in society, many of the "old-line" churches developed a tendency in the direction of formalism. The church atmosphere became more sophisticated, robes and choirs became commonplace, and even the use of formal liturgy eventually received a hearing where it had not before.[1]

This tendency did not meet with unanimous approval. The poorer classes began to feel out of place in churches whose tastes were often dictated by men of wealth, while others complained that the old "heart religion" was being displaced.[2] The upshot was the formation of a number of the so-called "holiness" groups, in which the doctrine of Christian perfection is held. Economic and social factors combined with the doctrinal to shape this new aspect of American Christianity.[3]

The post-war era also marked the beginning of professional mass evangelism. Dwight L. Moody set high standards in the preaching of "the straight Gospel,"[4] but few of his imitators proved capable of carrying on in the same tradition. Many tried (notably the ex-baseball player, Dr. William A. Sunday), but "the decline of the roaring evangelist as a type is largely his own fault. At his worst he has disgusted people of intelligence with his crudities and vulgarities. At his best he has not sufficiently considered the social and intellectual needs of mankind."[5]

Shifting theological emphases also characterized the latter part

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1. This did not happen until the very end of the nineteenth century.
2. W. Sweet, op. cit., p. 505.
3. Ibid., p. 506.
4. Grover C. Loud, Evangelized America (New York, 1928), p. 235.
5. Ibid., p. 365.

of the last century. In a word, this was the golden age of "liberalism" in American theology. F. H. Foster ascribes the growth of this movement, in the main, to the Congregationalists. With them, he has written, "liberalism has been. . . a matter of internal necessity."[1] However that might be, the 1870's and the 1880's did witness the decline of the austere sovereignty emphasized in the theology of the old Calvinistic orthodoxy.

The spiritual drain of an agonizing war, coupled with the intellectual vacuity of revivalism and the false pretenses of science, took an inexorable toll. Many of the old dogmas (beginning with hell and eternal punishment) were called into question, and not a few were openly doubted. Metaphysics were scoffed at, Jesus was humanized, and the old theories of the atonement were discarded.[2] It became common to speak of our Lord as merely "a good man."[3] After the acceptance of Darwinism on the part of many liberals, this movement became markedly intellectual. Christianity was made to conform with the dictates of science. The liberal movement was idealistic in its philosophy, and optimistic in its religion.[4] Belief in the inevitability of progress was commonly held. The so-called "higher criticism" in Biblical studies (which was prompted to a large extent by the onrush of the scientific method) played a major part in the shaping of this movement.[5] Doctor Horace Bushnell was "the chief inspiration of the new liberalizing movement in religion

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1. F. H. Foster, The Modern Movement in American Theology (New York, 1939), p. 14.
2. H. K. Rowe, op. cit., pp. 136-138.
3. Reinhold Niebuhr, "Ten Years that shook my World," in the Christian Century, April 26, 1939.
4. Walter Marshall Horton, "Science and Theology," in S. M. Cavert and H. P. VanDusen (editors), The Church through Half a Century (New York, 1936), p. 101.
5. W. W. Sweet, op. cit., p. 493.

and theology."[1] Henry Ward Beecher was a highly articulate associate.

Another religious phenomenon which originated at the end of the last century was the social gospel movement. Related as it was to the ethical humanism of Bushnell's liberalism, the social gospel sought to correct the evils which developed in the wake of the economic injustices and the moral laxity of the "gilded age." The names of Washington Gladden and W. D. P. Bliss are usually associated with the beginnings of this movement, but it remained for the eminent Baptist of German-Lutheran descent, Walter Rauschenbusch, to formulate the real social gospel philosophy.[2] As the social gospel emphasis grew, it stressed above all (1) a criticism of orthodoxy's traditional other-worldliness, (2) the social and humanitarian aspects of the second great commandment, (3) the teachings of Jesus as a norm for social standards, (4) salvation in socio-ethical terms, and (5) the possibility of building the kingdom of God here on earth.[3] The social emphasis is not yet dead, to be sure, but the social gospel movement as such thrived best in the atmosphere of easy optimism which characterized our nation (and other parts of the world) in the years prior to 1914. Rauschenbusch died an unhappy man in 1918, for he had not seen the fulfillment of his dream.[4]

This then, here described all too briefly, was the fertile field, America, in which the seed which was destined to grow into the

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1. Ibid., p. 492.
2. Cf. the Rauschenbusch books : Christianity and the Social Crisis (New York, 1907); Christianizing the Social Order (New York, 1912); The Social Principles of Jesus (New York, 1914); A Theology for the Social Gospel (New York, 1917).
3. C. H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven, 1940), passim.
4. Dumas Malone, The Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XV (New York, 1935), p. 393.

Augustana Lutheran Church was planted.

II.

When the first Swedes arrived in America in 1638, they came under the auspices of the Swedish crown itself. The colony in Delaware (1638-1655) was a royal experiment, the brain child of the hero-king, Gustavus Adolphus.[1] This experiment failed however, and for nearly two centuries the number of Swedes who emigrated to the New World was negligible.

When the stream of emigration began to flow in earnest in the middle of the nineteenth century, the situation was quite different. The Swedes who came with this second wave were not sent out as colonists by the Swedish government;[2] rather, they came of their own accord, and often endured great hardships in order to start life anew. Why did these people come? And exactly what kind of people were they? These are questions that must be answered in this section.

Many reasons can be adduced by way of explaining why more than a million Swedes emigrated to America between 1850 and 1910. One is not too surprised to learn that religion played a secondary role.[3] Relatively few left home because of persecution or oppression in any form, either civil or religious.[4] The primary reason, obviously, was the desire for

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1. C. Grimberg, op. cit., pp. 392-394.
2. Eric Norelius, "Den Första Svenska Invandring till Förentra Staterna," in Prärieblomman (Rock Island, Ill., 1900), p. 40.
3. O. F. Ander, T. N. Hasselquist (Rock Island, 1931), p. 17.
4. E. Norelius, op. cit., p. 41; G. M. Stephenson, The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis, 1932), pp. 29-30.

economic betterment.[1] This entire period was one of economic readjustment in Sweden.[2] The problem of redistributing the land, mentioned above,[3] was of extreme importance in a land dominated by an agricultural economy.[4] The condition of Swedish agriculture in the mid-nineteenth century was such that a radical solution was needed. Many cut the Gordian knot by deciding to emigrate.[5]

Other lesser reasons are also mentioned. Professor O. F. Ander feels that the influence of the old Viking wander-lust cannot be ruled out entirely.[6] Compulsory military training was distasteful to many,[7] and others objected to the lack of suffrage in Sweden.[8] It seems to be a fact too, that glowing letters from immigrants already in America, plus favorable reports in the Swedish press, prompted many to take the fateful step.[9] "These reports aroused in certain persons the desire to see the distant land with their own eyes, and to assure themselves that what they had heard was the truth."[10]

Finally, in a niche of its own, was the religious element. It was secondary, but real and significant nevertheless, particularly in the earlier phases of emigration.[11] Dissatisfaction with the state

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1. Cf. Eric Norelius, De Svenska Luterska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnes Historia i Amerika, Vol. I (Rock Island, Ill., 1890), p. 15.
2. O. F. Ander, op. cit., p. 15.
3. Supra, pp. 2-3.
4. O. N. Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America. Pioneer Period, 1846-1860 (Rock Island, Ill., 1950), p. 3.
5. Gustav Sundbärg, Betänkande i Utvandringsfragan (Stockholm, 1913), p. 661; cf. the novel by Vilhelm Moberg, Utvandrarna (Stockholm, 1949).
6. O. Ander, op. cit., p. 15.
7. Ibid., p. 15; V. Berger, Svensk-Amerikanska Meditationer (Rock Island, Ill., 1916), p. 10.
8. O. N. Olson, op. cit., p. 2.
9. M. L. Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860 (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), p. 296; O. Olson, op. cit., p. 4; E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 15.
10. Ibid., p. 15.
11. O. A. Benson, Problems in the Accommodation of the Swede to American Culture (University of Pittsburg, 1933, Ph. D. thesis), p. 25.

church was rife, especially among the pietists and others who were shocked by the worldliness of the clergy.[1] Professor Westin writes about läsare who were still disparaging "the new books" (specifically the service book, the hymnal, and the catechism), and desired to go to America in order to form "a genuine Lutheran congregation."[2] The established church did all in its power to repress the champions of religious freedom,[3] but it could not hold back the desire to emigrate which these restrictive measures often prompted.[4] So religion, it might be said, served as something of a catalyst in the history of Swedish emigration, inasmuch as it helped to accelerate the reaction in the minds of many Swedes who no longer wanted to live at home.

Varying answers are again received when one deals with the next important question, What kind of people emigrated? It is obvious that the typical emigrant was a farmer, in all likelihood a small landowner who got tired of working for next to nothing year after year. He rather decided to go to the farm states of America, where he would try to make a better living on strange soil.[5] Most of the earliest emigrants came from the rural sections of southern and central Sweden, and were either pietists or the southern variety of low-church Rosenians.[6]

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1. Geo. M. Stephenson, "The Background of the Beginnings of Swedish Immigration, 1850-1875," in The American Historical Review, Vol. XXXI, p. 710; also Emeroy Johnson, A Church is Planted (Minneapolis, Minn., 1948), p. 313.
2. Gunnar Westin, Emigranterna och Kyrkan (Stockholm, 1932), p. 20.
3. V. Berger, op. cit., p. 10.
4. O. A. Benson, op. cit., p. 26.
5. V. Berger, op. cit., p. 13.
6. G. Westin, op. cit., p. 14.

For the most part the immigrants were "humble folk,"[1] who brought "little of the culture of their native land"[2] with them. But that is not to imply that they were "lazy peasants and horse dealers. . ,"[3] or only the very poor.[4] Such, emphatically, was not the case. It was rather shown that those who dared to transplant themselves in a new homeland were usually "energetic, ambitious, and honest," besides being "thoughtful" and gifted with a good share of "strength and an enterprising spirit."[5] They were persons who were willing to undergo hardships in order to avail themselves of the greater amount of personal liberty granted in the American democracy.[6] It is interesting to note that the National Intelligencer (Washington, D. C., July 8, 1851) reported that a group of Swedish immigrants, passing through Boston on its way to the West, "had a remarkably comfortable and respectable look."[7]

Statistics relative to Swedish emigration are doubly surprising in the light of the strong measures which were taken in an effort to stem the tide. The Riksdag of 1862-63 entertained a motion that each local (or county) council be prepared to offer assistance to needy peasants, and that a tract presenting the facts about emigration be published and distributed.[8] The clerical estate in the same Riksdag recommended that the peasant class should be told about the dangers and discomforts which

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1. V. Berger, op. cit., p. 7.
2. G. Stephenson, op. cit., p. 430.
3. Wäktaren, March 15, 1854.
4. Aftonbladet, January 11, 1850.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. As cited in Nels Hokanson, Swedish Immigrants in Lincoln's Time (New York, 1942), p. 20.
8. Bihang till Samtlige Riks-Ständens Protocoll, 1862-63 (Stockholm, 1863), Fjerde bandet, p. 4.

the emigrants often had to endure.[1] The pastors in the established church also did what they could to discourage emigration. No Swede was legally prepared to leave the homeland until he had received a "migration permit" ("flyttningsbetyg") from his pastor, and when he came to the parsonage to apply for the same he often got a gratuitous lecture in the bargain. But by that time it was usually too late to effect a change of heart.[2]

Some sections of the Swedish press endeavored to assist in this campaign too. Wäktaren published an appeal "to the Christians of our country who intend to emigrate" which was heavily freighted with emotional, patriotic and religious reasons for not leaving Sweden. The appeal ended by reminding those who intended to emigrate of what happened to the Jews, who ignored the warning of the Psalmist to "remain in the land." Said Wäktaren, "As we know, these people now have no fatherland."[3] A letter from America which Aftonbladet printed in 1855 revealed that a period of "unemployment" ("arbetslöshet") had just begun "like an unexpected thunderbolt."[4] A Malmö paper carried a report at the same time which said that more than fifty thousand people were out of work in New York, and then went on "to warn the people about emigrating."[5] Yet another paper, in a different part of the country, took up this theme by pointing out that "misery is great in Europe, but in America it is even worse." ("Eländet i Europa är stort, men i Amerika är det ännu värre.") This paper also went on to assert that "numerous warnings" were being sent

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1. Högvördiga Preste-Standets Protocoll, 1862-63 (Stockholm, 1863), Andra bandet, p. 202.
2. Ibid., p. 206.
3. Wäktaren, Feb. 3, 1855.
4. Aftonbladet, Feb. 8, 1855.
5. Malmö Nya Allehanda, Feb. 21, 1855.

back home from the United States by disillusioned Europeans.[1] Five years later Aftonbladet quoted Göteborgs Handelstidning to the effect that many immigrants were being exploited and led astray by what the Gothenburg paper called "false and selfish advisors" who met the bewildered newcomers right on the docks.[2] In producing this evidence from the press one must admit that it is not always possible to distinguish between papers that were fighting for a cause (in this case, to stop emigration), and those that were simply reporting the news.

At any rate, the stream continued to flow. In the 1850's, fourteen-thousand, eight-hundred and sixty-five Swedes entered the United States; in the 1860's the figure was eighty-eight thousand, seven-hundred and thirty-one; in the 1870's it was one-hundred and one thousand, one-hundred and sixty-nine; in the 1880's, three-hundred and twenty-four thousand, two-hundred and eighty-five; in the 1890's, two-hundred thousand, five-hundred and twenty-four, and in the first decade of the present century, two-hundred and nineteen-thousand, two-hundred and forty-nine.[3] These are the known figures; many others left Sweden without a proper check. At the same time, more than one-hundred thousand returned to Sweden from the United States between 1870 and 1910.[4]

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1. Hernösands-Posten, April 26, 1855.
2. Aftonbladet, July 5, 1860.
3. G. Sundbärg, op. cit., p. 608.
4. Ibid., p. 609.

III.

It is somewhat surprising to note that the Church of Sweden continued into the nineteenth century the practice of sending pastors to minister in the Swedish Lutheran churches founded on the east coast in and after 1638. These congregations were eventually assimilated by English-speaking groups (notably by the Episcopalians), and after Pastor Nicholas Collin died in 1831, no more Swedish clergymen were sent out.[1] Two of the old Swedish church buildings still stand, however, one in Philadelphia and the other in Wilmington, Delaware.[2]

This meant then, that when the second wave of Swedish immigration began in the 1840's, not a single Swedish Lutheran congregation or pastor was to be found in the entire country. Other Swedish clerics, however, were on hand to meet, and if possible, to minister to the incoming pioneers. The first among these was a certain Gustaf Unonius, a disgruntled intellectual who came to Pine Lake, Wisconsin, in 1841, and was ordained a priest by the Protestant Episcopal Church just a few years later.[3] He visited his countrymen and tried to impress upon them the necessity of affiliating with an episcopal communion,[4] but he did not have much success.[5]

The Methodist Church, at this same time, was represented by two ministers, O. G. and Jonas Hedström, who were brothers and also natives of Sweden. The two contrived a system which seemed to function quite well.

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1. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 1.
2. W. Sweet, op. cit., p. 132.
3. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 4.
4. Ibid., p. 89.
5. T. C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America. The American Transition (Northfield, Minn., 1940), p. 130.

O. G. Hedström established and ran the "Bethel Ship" church in an old hulk in New York harbor, while his brother superintended the work in Illinois.[1] The former would contact the immigrants upon arrival, supply advice and other comforts, and then recommend that they seek for homes out in Illinois. Once there, Jonas would do what he could to make Methodists of them. Norelius feels that this fraternal cooperation does much to explain why so many of the earlier Swedish immigrants decided to settle in the state of Illinois.[2]

The religious situation in Illinois was further colored at this time, at least as far as the Swedes were concerned, by the presence of "Jansonism." Eric Janson was an egotistic fanatic who left Sweden in 1846 in order to establish a "New Jerusalem" in Bishop Hill, Illinois. Janson was against the state church in Sweden, and for the doctrine of perfection. He thought of himself as a prophet. And while his power over his followers was great, it was short even so. He was murdered by one of his adherents in 1850, and with his passing the religious vitality of his colony soon came to an end.[3]

But in spite of the non-Lutheran competition without and the indifference which overpowered many from within, there were those Swedes, who, after arriving in America, insisted that Lutheran congregations be formed for their own use. This was not easy. Many other problems had to be dealt with at the same time. Poverty and other hardships harassed the pioneers for years after their arrival. But the desire to have their

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1. G. M. Stephenson, The Founding of the Augustana Synod, 1850-1860 (Rock Island, Ill., 1927), p. 7.
2. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 26.
3. Ibid., pp. 61-76.

own Lutheran congregations would not be denied. Thus it was that the first new Swedish Lutheran congregation in the United States was organized in New Sweden, Iowa, in the year 1848, three years after the settlement had been established. This pioneer congregation was formed without fanfare or formality. One of their number, a shoemaker by the name of M. F. Hokanson, was called to serve as their pastor.[1] Herr Hokanson assumed his new duties with much fearful reluctance, but he soon learned to do what his fellow-members desired of him : he preached the Word, baptized and confirmed the young, served communion, and so on. It was in such a situation as this that laymen who had learned to lead in public devotions in Sweden (notably the ex-läsare) were put to good use. While reflecting upon the choice of Hokanson as pastor in New Sweden, one is reminded of Doctor Rönnegård's observation : "Not a few of the first pastors of the Augustana Synod were recruited in this manner."[2]

The step thus taken by the pioneers of New Sweden was typical of the democratic non-conformity which had developed in the American "great West." And it was not long before they were taken to task for having availed themselves of this liberty. For it was just one year after their congregation was organized that Gustaf Unonius, the Episcopalian mentioned above,[3] came to New Sweden and upbraided the Swedes for their loose religious practices. It was impossible to form a congregation without an ordained pastor, he said,[4] and such a man, of course, had to

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1. Ibid., pp. 87-89.
2. Sam Rönnegård, "The Religious Movements in Northern Sweden a Hundred Years ago and the Augustana Synod," in the Augustana Quarterly, Vol.XXVII (1948), p. 223.
3. Supra, p. 47.
4. E. Norelius, op. cit., p. 89.

be ordained by a bishop. The Lutherans were adamant, however, and their reply was to the point. They reminded Unonius that America was "completely free," that no one had the right to question another's religion, and that no one, lacking permission, should want to "interfere in other peoples' religious affairs."[1] One frequently hears of the aversion which the pioneers who founded the Augustana Synod harbored for the episcopal system, and this incident is surely indicative of that attitude. Unonius was no doubt welcome as a fellow Swede, but out of order as an Episcopalian.

But the troubles of the New Sweden congregation did not end with the departure of Unonius. Additional difficulties lay in store. The Methodists came and proclaimed Wesleyan perfection; the Baptists came and convinced Hokanson that he should receive "proper baptism" ("det rätta dopet"), and even the Mormons (both Swedish and Danish) put in an appearance in New Sweden in an effort to make proselytes. Some modifications were introduced as a result. After the Methodist invasion, for example, it was decided, "to please the sectarians" ("för att behaga sektanden"), to baptize without sponsors, to make the "churching" of mothers voluntary, and to use an extemporary prayer in place of the confession of sins.[2] Both Hokanson and the New Sweden congregation as a whole remained Lutheran, but it was not without a struggle.

The significance of the New Sweden congregation for the sum total of Augustana history would be rather hard to assess. After flourishing for a time, this congregation, like many other rural congregations, ultimately ceased to exist.[3] In spite of this, however, the immigrants

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1. Hemlandet, Det Gamla och det Nya, June 13, 1860.
2. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, pp. 90-97.
3. The New Sweden congregation did not disappear altogether; it rather merged with another neighboring congregation. The old church building is still standing; the Augustana Church is preserving it as an historic shrine.

of New Sweden had demonstrated that a Swedish Lutheran congregation could be formed in the untamed West. They had no bishop, they had no church property or ecclesiastical paraphenalia of any kind, and they asked for permission from no one save conscience itself -- and yet they dared to organize a Lutheran congregation. This courageous act is, in the opinion of the present writer, the most significant thing to be said for the New Sweden congregation. In subsequent years numerous other congregations were organized in a manner reminiscent of New Sweden.

It is understood of course that there was no organic relation whatever between this congregation and the Swedish Lutheran churches organized in Delaware and Pennsylvania in and after 1638. As has been seen,[1] these congregations were eventually incorporated into non-Lutheran groups. Hence, what was done in New Sweden represented a fresh start; the government of Sweden and the Church of Sweden had absolutely nothing to do with it (save in an indirect way.[2]) Would these new immigrants have affiliated with the old seventeenth century churches if they had still existed in the 1840's and '50's? That is an interesting question, albeit impossible to answer, and Richard Niebuhr, who has raised this question, is of the opinion that the newcomers probably would not have affiliated with congregations run by "their partly americanized kindred. . ."[3]

IV.

Fortunately, as has been said, the New Sweden experiment did not prove to be an isolated phenomenon. On the other hand, the second

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1. Supra, p. 47; Cf. also Sam Rönnegård, Lars Paul Esbjörn (Stockholm, 1949), p. 95.
2. Supra, p. 41.
3. H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York, 1929), pp. 213-214.

Swedish Lutheran congregation was organized in 1850, and still others shortly thereafter. The formation of the second church, in Andover, Illinois, is of particular importance, inasmuch as this was done under the direction of a Swedish Lutheran pastor. This was the Rev. Lars Paul Esbjörn, the first Swedish Lutheran pastor to come to America in order to minister to the immigrant Swedes.[1]

The coming of Pastor Esbjörn, who was truly a pivotal personality in the history of Swedish Lutheranism in America, must be told in some detail. A brilliant student at the University of Uppsala, Esbjörn was ordained by the Church of Sweden in 1832, and thus served that church for seventeen years before emigrating to the New World.[2] The apparent reason for his coming to America was that he might thus provide a spiritual ministry for his newly-arrived countrymen. He confided to a friend, in a letter written shortly before his departure, that he had heard something akin to the Macedonian call : "come over here and help us." ("Kom hit över och hjälp oss.")[3]

But there is more to the story. Doctor Rönnegård, who has written a definitive biography of Esbjörn, feels that disappointment played a distinctive role in shaping Esbjörn's decision. The promotions that Esbjörn hoped for (and applied for, in keeping with the Swedish practice) did not come.[4] Why such was the case is rather hard to determine. Perhaps

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1. Doctor Norelius does mention in his Historia, Vol. I, pp. 6-14, a certain Pastor Peter Bökman who ministered briefly to the Swedes in the Unonius settlement in Pine Lake, Wis., early in the 1840's. He then returned to Sweden and died in 1850.
2. Tidskrift, 1899, p. 239.
3. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to G. T. Keyser, dated March 13, 1849, as cited in S. Rönnegård, op. cit., p. 85.
4. S. Rönnegård, op. cit., p. 78.

his reputation as a revivalist and temperance advocate was against him.[1] At any rate, he had applied for a new position just the year before he left for America, only to be defeated again.[2] In the light of that fact, it is almost necessary to conclude that the needs of the immigrants in the New World did not stand alone in prompting Esbjörn to emigrate.

Be that as it may, other germane factors can be cited which have even greater significance for this study. As noted, Esbjörn became deeply involved in the temperance movement which swept over Sweden during the years of his ministry there. This interest eventually brought him into close contact with the eminent English Methodist preacher, George Scott, and the Rev. Mr. Robert Baird of the United States. Thus it was that Esbjörn was present, as secretary, among the five thousand who gathered for a gigantic temperance rally in Hudiksvall in 1840. The Rev. Mr. Baird spoke there on "The religious situation in the United States,"[3] and this, it appears, made a great impression on the thirty-two year old Esbjörn. He even began the study of English after this meeting.[4] From that time on he had a definite interest in America. Moreover, Esbjörn also became known as a "reader pastor" in the years preceding his removal from Sweden,[5] and in a letter written to Eric Norelius several years after his arrival, he admitted that there was a time when he was "more or less Methodistic" in his religious point of view.[6] It is obvious, in the light

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1. Florence Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930 (Chicago, 1931), p. 176.
2. S. Rönnegård, op. cit., p. 78.
3. Gunnar Westin, George Scott och hans verksamhet i Sverige (Stockholm, 1929), p. 467.
4. Sam Rönnegård, op. cit., p. 47.
5. G. Westin, Emigranterna, etc., p. 24.
6. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to Eric Norelius, dated Jan. 30, 1856, in the Norelius Collection, Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.

of that confession, that Scott had made a profound impression upon the youthful Esbjörn.

In spite of these deviations, however, Esbjörn left Sweden and arrived in America as a Lutheran pastor. His bishop recommended him for the work in America, the Swedish Missionary Society provided a grant of three hundred crowns for traveling expenses, and the door was left open for him to return to the Church of Sweden at any time (which he did, in 1863.)[1] But these latter facts must not be misconstrued. Esbjörn's journey was purely a private affair. The Swedish Church did not have anything to do with it in an official way. But even though he did not represent the Swedish Church here in the United States, Esbjörn did arrive in the capacity of a "pastor in the Swedish Church."[2]

Further difficulties cropped up immediately after his arrival, however. The first thing that Esbjörn did after coming to New York was to visit Hedström's "Bethel Ship." He needed guidance and assistance, not least of all financial assistance. He was a poor man, and even though he had come to the New World with a definite purpose in mind, to minister to the "scattered children" of the Swedish Church, he did not know how he was to be supported. Thus it was that he turned to Hedström, who wasted no time in putting a proposition before him. Become a Methodist, Hedström said, and then you can go and minister to the pioneers with the assurance that the Methodist Church will support you. Esbjörn was sorely tempted -- he hadn't forgotten George Scott -- and asked for a day to think it over. But he finally declined; he could not turn his back on

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1. Sam Rönnegård, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
2. Ibid., p. 86.

his Lutheran heritage.[1]

Esbjörn and his company decided to follow the immigrants who had gone before into Illinois. Having arrived at the agreed destination, Andover, Esbjörn "found his countrymen scattered in small communities, poor in the goods of this world, almost without leadership, without churches, and without pastors."[2] And that was not all. Esbjörn had reached Andover after the rest of his party, having been delayed in Chicago with a severe case of cholera, and in the interim, Jonas Hedström had come over to Andover from Victoria and convinced quite a number to settle in the neighborhood of his town, where they could purchase "excellent land at a decent price and on good terms."[3] Norelius does not think that would have happened if they had not already been converted to Methodism.[4] O. G. Hedström's "Bethel Ship" gets the blame. Esbjörn was already beginning to learn that "we have clever enemies to deal with," and that it was necessary to learn to use the same tactics that they employed.[5] Professor Westin marvels that the percentage of immigrant Swedes won for the church in the midst of all this rivalry was as great as it is.[6]

But when Esbjörn came to Andover in the fall of 1849 he was determined to transplant the Swedish Lutheran Church to American soil. That was the reason he had come. Before he could take up his work in earnest, however, he had to settle his major problem. How was he to be

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1. Ibid., pp. 99-102.
2. G. M. Stephenson, The Founding of the Augustana Synod, p. 7.
3. S. Rönnegård, op. cit., p. 115.
4. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 36.
5. Hasselquist Collection, Rock Island, Ill. Letter from L. P. Esbjörn to T. N. Hasselquist, dated Dec. 4, 1852.
6. G. Westin, Ur den svenska folk-väckelsens historia och tänkevärld, Vol. III, Part 1 (Stockholm, 1933), pp. 64-65.

supported? He purchased a small farm after arriving in Andover,[1] but he realized that if he had to till the soil in order to make a living for himself (and his large family), he wouldn't have time to carry on his missionary work. In the face of this dilemma, Esbjörn decided to take a drastic step: he applied (in December, 1849) for assistance from the American Home Missionary Society, which was run by the Congregationalists. Much to his surprise, perhaps, he was hired by the Society to work among his fellow Swedes in Illinois, and promised the sum of three hundred dollars per year for his support.[2]

There have been those in Augustana circles who have wished that our foremost pioneer had not entered into such a "questionable" alliance. Doctor Norelius, who, in the words of Conrad Bergendoff, "is quick to criticize those who differed from him in ecclesiastical matters,"[3] refers to this association as "a sour apple in our history."[4] Esbjörn himself was forever grateful for the assistance given. In speaking to a meeting of the General Synod in 1859,[5] and in reporting to the diocese of Uppsala in 1865,[6] Esbjörn had nothing but kind things to say about the American Home Missionary Society. If the Congregationalists had not helped him, he said on the former occasion, "he would never have been able to preach the Gospel and to do what he had done among the Scandinavians."[7]

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1. S. Rönnegård, op. cit., p. 115.
2. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 126.
3. Conrad Bergendoff, Our Attitude toward Liturgical Innovations. Tract (n. p., n. d.), p. 2.
4. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 125.
5. Geo. M. Stephenson, article in American Historical Review, Vol. 31, p. 714.
6. L. P. Esbjörn, "De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas i N. Amerika Uppkomst," in Korsbaneret (Rock Island, Ill., 1885), pp. 36-37.
7. G. M. Stephenson, op. cit. (article), p. 714.

But did this liason in any way affect Esbjörn's thinking and theology? That is the important question. The agreement was that Esbjörn should continue to work as a Lutheran pastor and to establish Lutheran congregations,[1] and he admitted later that the men who paid his salary never once tried to persuade him and his people to leave the Lutheran Church.[2] At the same time, however, the Society also demanded that "no one be received into church membership unless he gave evidence of being truly converted. . . Church letters from Sweden were not considered sufficient evidence of fitness for church membership."[3] Confirmation wasn't good enough either. The Congregationalists, at that time, normally received members through revival-induced conversions.

Again the question, did this in any way affect Esbjörn? The answer to that important question is not easy to ascertain, but it does seem that Esbjörn, at the outset of his ministry here in the United States, was influenced by this non-Lutheran alliance. Eric Norelius asserts that such was the case, and he feels that the Augustana Church would have suffered irreparable harm as a result if Esbjörn's eyes had not eventually been opened.[4] Other critics, in seeking to bolster this contention with real evidence, relate that Esbjörn "laid aside the robes of the church, simplified the service,"[5] and in general "adopted the usage of the reformed American churches."[6] Bergendoff feels, however, that these "divergences

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1. I. O. Nothstein (editor), Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. X (Rock Island, Ill., 1944), p. 10.
2. L. P. Esbjörn, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
3. I. O. Nothstein, op. cit., p. 10.
4. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, pp. 181-182.
5. Florence Janson, op. cit., p. 192.
6. G. M. Stephenson, Aspects, p. 158.

were neither serious nor permanent."[1] But Esbjörn himself, in a letter to his old friend Peter Wieselgren, admitted that he was trying to build a believers' church in Andover. No one was received, he wrote, who did not actually feel his sins and possess a living hunger for the righteousness of Christ. This letter was written shortly after the Andover congregation had been formed, and at that time only twenty-eight persons had been received, even though "flere" ("more" or "many") attended the worship services.[2] A similar decision was made when Esbjörn organized the congregation in Moline, Illinois, in December of 1850.[3]

It is also known that Esbjörn organized a Sunday School in Andover shortly after the founding of that congregation, and he was especially desirous of enlisting teachers who could read the English language.[4] Furthermore, at a meeting of the Scandinavian Conference in Andover in 1854, the local Presbyterian minister was invited to preach at one of the services.[5] These examples are put forth in order to illustrate the tendency to use the English and to fraternize with non-Lutherans which was not always present. They also serve to bolster the contention that the first Swedes to come to this country americanized much more quickly than the ones who came later.

The next significant milestone in the history of Swedish Lutheranism in America was passed in 1851, when the handful of Swedish congregations then in existence affiliated with the Synod of Northern Illinois,

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1. C. Bergendoff, op. cit., p. 2.
2. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to P. Wieselgren, dated May 23, 1850, as cited in G. Westin, Emigranterna, etc., p. 43.
3. Augustana, September, 1876.
4. O. N. Olson, op. cit., p. 128.
5. From a letter, P. A. Cederstam to E. Norelius, dated Feb. 23, 1885, in the P. A. Cederstam Collection, Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.

which was soon to become a member of the General Synod. The General Synod, organized in 1820, was a loose federation of district synods, each of which recognized the others as being Lutheran. As years passed, however, this group became clearly tinged with revivalism, unionism, and other kinds of so-called "Reformed practices," to speak in general terms. "The hiatus in immigration during more than a half-century following the outbreak of the American Revolution had cut it off from European influence. The American Lutheran Church was in a fair way to develop an American and a liberal theology."[1] The end result of this liberalizing tendency in American Lutheran circles was the formation of the "New Lutheran" party, of which S. S. Schmucker was the leading light.[2]

The activities of the General Synod were largely confined to the eastern seaboard states in the first years of its existence. With the improvements in transportation, however (the Erie Canal, 1825, steamboats, etc.), and the consequent opening of "the West," Lutherans of the older, americanized stock began to appear in Illinois too.[3] Thus it was, that when the Synod of Northern Illinois was organized in 1851, that it was composed of Lutherans from both the older churches and the immigrant churches.[4]

Esbjörn almost decided not to take his Swedish congregations into this new, cosmopolitan synod. He confided to Norelius (in a letter

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1. G. M. Stephenson, "Historical Introduction," in The Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. VII (Rock Island, Ill., 1937), p. 30.
2. W. W. Sweet, op. cit., p. 388.
3. I. O. Nothstein, "The History of Lutheranism in Illinois to the Close of 1850," in The Augustana Quarterly, Vol. XXVII (Rock Island, Ill., 1948), pp. 68-69.
4. J. O. Anders, The Origins and History of Swedish Religious Organizations in Minnesota, 1853-1885 (Rock Island, Ill., 1932), p. 17.

written in 1855) that he really preferred to affiliate with the Ohio Synod,[1] a conservative German Lutheran synod. Distances were too great, however, so this idea had to be dropped.[2] At the same time, Esbjörn did not feel that his congregations should remain independent too long. He well remembered the fate which befell the Swedish churches on the Delaware.[3] Thus it was that Esbjörn and a lay delegate went to the meeting at which the Synod of Northern Illinois was founded. They arrived at the meeting a day late, however, and then found that the synod was already organized. And as it turned out, Esbjörn was not completely satisfied with what had been done. For in stipulating its doctrinal position, the synod had accepted the Augsburg Confession merely as being "mainly correct." That did not satisfy Esbjörn, and he did not agree to join until the minutes were altered to reflect his conviction that the Augsburg Confession was more than "mainly correct."[4] In his opinion, it was entirely correct.

As a result of this organizational meeting, and subsequent evidence, it was easy for Esbjörn and his fellow Swedish Lutherans to see that both Lutheran camps, the liberal and the conservative, were to be found in the makeup of the Synod of Northern Illinois. Even so, they remained a part of it for nearly a decade. And even though this combination provided certain complications,[5] it cannot be doubted that the Swedes profited greatly from their membership in this group. For one thing,

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1. The Ohio Synod helped to organize the American Lutheran Church in 1930.
2. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to Eric Norelius, dated March 6, 1855, as cited in Tidskrift, 1899, p. 273.
3. Pastor O. C. T. Andren, article in Wäktaren, Nov. 28, 1860.
4. From the Esbjörn letter to Norelius, Mar. 6, 1855, op. cit.
5. These complications finally led to the defection of the Swedish churches, as will be seen later.

Esbjörn himself developed into a "firm Lutheran church man"[1] during this period, for the longer he dealt with the men of the liberal "new Lutheran" school, the more clearly he saw that he was of the older, more conservative school. The Swedish churches as a unit also benefitted from this association with "other kinds" of Lutherans. More will be said about this in a later section.

Thus it was that the Swedish Lutheran Church began to grow in the United States. It was an independent venture from the very beginning. The Church of Sweden sent no help and no sympathy. Esbjörn and his coworkers had to build their new Zion as best they knew how in the American environment. As long as he served here (i.e., until 1863), Esbjörn never once made a report to the ecclesiastical authorities in Sweden.[2]

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In the summer of 1852 Esbjörn was the only Lutheran pastor at work among the Swedish immigrants in western Illinois (and unordained Hokanson was the only other Swedish Lutheran preacher to be found anywhere in the country.) While living in Andover, Esbjörn also served congregations in Galesburg, Knoxville, Rock Island, Moline and Henderson at that time.[3] This was too big a load for one man to carry effectively, of course, and finally, in response to many poignant pleas, help arrived from Sweden. T. N. Hasselquist came in the fall of 1852, Erland Carlsson took over the work in Chicago in 1853, and Jonas Swensson and O. C. T.

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1. As Sam Rönnegård refers to him; cf. his "Amerikanst kyrkoliv och svenskt," in the Västerås stifts prästmöteshandlingar (1949), p. 220.
2. From The Augustana Observer, Feb. 15, 1883.
3. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 160.

Andren arrived in 1856. That completes the list of Swedish pastors who emigrated to America in order to minister to their countrymen and to organize a church for them.[1] Eric Norelius, who arrived in America in 1850 at the age of seventeen, was not ordained until 1856.[2]

When Esbjörn asked his people to recommend a candidate to assist him in his work, a former parishioner from Önnestad in the province of Skåne suggested that a call be sent to Hasselquist.[3] This proved to be a happy choice. Hasselquist gave nearly forty (1852-1891) energetic years to Swedish Lutheranism in the United States, and he is commonly remembered as Augustana's foremost leader. He was elected to serve as the Augustana Synod's first president,[4] and when Esbjörn returned to Sweden three years later, Rev. Hasselquist played the Joshua role, so to speak, with much success.

Like Esbjörn, who arrived here before him, and Erland Carlsson who came a year later, Hasselquist had been touched, before leaving Sweden, with liberal (free church) ideas and pietistic tendencies.[5] Once in America, he did not hesitate to give free rein to these convictions, which were still discouraged in Sweden when Hasselquist left.[6] Thus it was, after he arrived in Galesburg (where he stayed eleven years, 1852-1863), that Hasselquist promptly followed the example set by Esbjörn and applied for aid from the American Home Missionary Society. The Society decided

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1. O. C. T. Andren, op. cit.
2. Emeroy Johnson, Eric Norelius (Rock Island, Ill., 1954), p. v.
3. Florence Janson, op. cit., p. 187.
4. Augustana-Synodens Protokoll, 1860, p. 4.
5. Gunnar Westin, Emigranterna, etc., pp. 23-25.
6. Cf. supra, p. 26.

to support Hasselquist in the same way that Esbjörn was being supported, and Hasselquist was properly grateful.[1] The Swedish colony in Galesburg was large and growing, when Hasselquist arrived, but it was by no means able to support its own pastor.[2]

As seen from a strict, mid-nineteenth century Lutheran point of view, Hasselquist was also rather liberal in building up his congregation in Galesburg. He found a strong Congregationalist influence in Galesburg, for example, and instead of fighting it or ignoring it he rather chose to cooperate with it. Esbjörn had permitted a group of students from Knox College (founded in Galesburg in 1837) to organize a Sunday School in the Swedish congregation in Galesburg in the spring of 1850 (before the congregation itself was organized),[3] and when Hasselquist arrived he was content, apparently, to accept the status quo. He did reorganize the Sunday School a year after he came, but in 1856 he reported to the American Home Missionary group that his "Sabbath School" was "superintended and taught by pious and zealous members of the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations."[4] There were several classes in Swedish in this Sunday School too, however (presumably taught by Lutherans), but because of the hope that the Swedes would soon be americanized, Hasselquist insisted upon using English as well. He did not want to make the same mistake the German Lutherans were making; in Hasselquist's opinion the Germans were preaching "their language rather than the Gospel."[5]

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1. Cf. T. N. Hasselquist's letter to the American Home Missionary Society, dated March 2, 1854, as cited in G. Westin, Emigranterna, pp. 70-71.
2. S. Rönnegård, Esbjörn, p. 137.
3. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 228.
4. From a letter, T. N. Hasselquist to the American Home Missionary Society, dated April 8, 1856, as cited in Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. V (Rock Island, Ill., 1935), p. 83.
5. O. Ander, T. N. Hasselquist (Rock Island, Ill., 1931), pp. 38, 41.

In addition to the foregoing, Norelius also accuses both Hasselquist and Esbjörn of being "unionistic" in their early days here in America.[1] This is a very serious charge, and if it is true, it is mitigated only by the fact that Hasselquist became more "churchly" and Lutheran in later years. As has been seen, the very same thing can be said for Esbjörn.[2] The Norelius charge is rather hard to assess in the case of Hasselquist. Professor O. F. Ander, the most recent biographer of Hasselquist, claims that his subject was unionistic only in this, that he desired to cooperate with other Lutheran groups.[3] If true, that does not constitute "unionism" from the Augustana point of view. But it does seem that there was more to the story -- and the charge. Hasselquist's handling of the Sunday School problem, for example, could be used to support such a claim. At the same time, in reporting to the American Home Missionary Society in 1854, Hasselquist (after severely criticizing the Church of Sweden) warmly praised a number of Presbyterian and Congregationalist groups of his acquaintance. These congregations, he wrote, are strong "in labor for Christ s sake [sic] and firmness in the confession and conversation."[4] Some may want to argue that Hasselquist was simply licking the hand that fed him, in doing and saying such things, but such a conclusion just doesn't seem possible. Those who know him realize that T. N. Hasselquist wasn't that kind of man. The present writer is of the opinion that Hasselquist was friendly and cooperative vis-à-vis non-Lutheran

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1. E. Norelius, T. N. Hasselquist (Rock Island, Ill., n. d.), p. 70.
2. Supra, pp. 60-61.
3. O. F. Ander, op. cit., p. 41.
4. From a letter, T. N. Hasselquist to the American Home Missionary Society, dated Mar. 2, 1854, as cited in Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. V (Rock Island, Ill., 1935), p. 72.

Christians without being unionistic in the strict theological sense of the word. Norelius seems to undermine his accusation when he reminds us that Hasselquist never ceased to preach God's word in agreement with the Lutheran point of view.[1]

In regard to the conduct of public services, and the use of the Swedish ritual, Norelius asserts that Hasselquist was a "rabulist" ("a rabid radical.")[2] It would seem that Hasselquist was influenced in this matter by the non-liturgical Congregationalists of Galesburg, but at the same time Norelius had to admit that Hasselquist "did not sanction those who would turn liberty in forms into a freedom from forms."[3] A letter sent from Galesburg to Sweden in the spring of 1854 tells much about Hasselquist's church and services, and reveals the non-Lutheran influence to which Hasselquist was exposed. The building itself was more like an ordinary schoolhouse than a church, with a platform, pulpit (or a lectern), and a number of benches. An altar "and other articles of luxury" ("och öfriga lyxartiklar") were not used. The confession of faith was "read" every Sunday, and the Lord's Prayer was offered frequently, but the confession of sins and the Gospel for the day were used but seldom. The service would begin and end with a free prayer. Finally, this letter noted that the "pastors here do not have the use of homes and farms belonging to the parish. . , but have instead two hands and six working days per week."[4]

If Hasselquist can be criticized for the way in which he conducted worship services in his first years in America, it must be admitted

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1. E. Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 53.
2. Ibid., p. 53.
3. C. Bergendoff, op. cit., p. 2.
4. Malmö Nya Allehanda, April 18, 1855.

that there were extenuating circumstances. There was a clique within the Galesburg congregation at that time which was strongly influenced by what Norelius calls "American, Reformed-puritan" sectarianism. This group finally left the congregation served by Hasselquist in order to organize what was known as the Second Lutheran Church of Galesburg. Before this defection took place, however, this group expressed the fear that their church was becoming too much like a "state church." They objected to the use of ritual of any kind, as well as to the clerical collar. They even held that it was wrong to stand for the reading of the lessons; not even the pastor ought to do that, they thought.[1] Hence it can be seen that Hasselquist had to contend with radicals within and fierce competitors without. Before Hasselquist came to Galesburg, the Baptists and the Methodists consistently referred to Esbjörn as "a dead, state-church pastor," who "preached only for money."[2] There is no reason to expect that Hasselquist was treated any better. So if he was guilty of making some changes in the direction of informality in his early days in Galesburg, he surely can be forgiven.

That Hasselquist was no ordinary clergyman is clearly illustrated by the journalistic activity which he began with the first publication of the newspaper, Hemlandet, det Gamla och det Nya,[3] in January of 1855. As one would expect, Hasselquist's monthly paper (which soon became a weekly) had a great deal to say about church life and theological matters, and as such it did much to assist in the development of Swedish Lutheranism in America. But Hasselquist the journalist did not limit

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1. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, pp. 235-236.
2. E. Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 35.
3. "Homeland, the Old and the New."

himself solely to things religious. He rather made it clear from the outset that "one of his chief reasons for publishing the newspaper was to assist the immigrant in adjusting himself to American conditions. . ."[1] Anything that might help to make the Swedes better citizens was grist for Hasselquist's mill. American history was one of his favorite secular subjects.[2]

Another was politics. Doctor Blegen quotes Laur. Larsen as saying that by 1860, "politics was an absorbing interest, second only to the affairs of their church" for both Swedes and Norwegians.[3] How did this happen so quickly among pioneers who had grown up under a monarchical system? Among the Swedes, this great interest could not be explained apart from the power of the Swedish press,[4] of which Hasselquist was one of the better exponents. Many Swedes became staunch Republicans at this time, chiefly because Hasselquist and Hemlandet were Republican. Hasselquist, in turn, had become a Republican by reading Horace Greeley's New York Tribune. Greeley had convinced Hasselquist that the Democratic party advocated the expansion of slavery, and that the only solution to this dread problem lay in the gradual abolition program espoused by the Republicans. Hasselquist developed this party line so successfully that "it became almost a matter of salvation to be a Republican."[5]

From all appearances, Doctor Hasselquist adapted himself to

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1. O. F. Ander, "Some Factors in the Americanization of the Swedish Immigrant, 1850-1890," in The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. XXVI (Springfield, Ill., 1934), p. 145.
2. Ibid., p. 145.
3. T. Blegen, op. cit., p. 323.
4. O. F. Ander, "Some Factors, etc.," p. 144.
5. O. F. Ander, "Swedish-American Newspapers and the Republican Party, 1855-1875," in the Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. II (Rock Island, Ill., 1933), pp. 65-66.

his new life in his new country with ease and enthusiasm. At the same time, he used every means at his disposal to point his countrymen in the same direction. Hemlandet was one of his best tools.

The growth of Lutheran congregations always calls into being the need for a system of church polity. Following the lead of Luther himself, the Lutheran Church has always held that no one kind of polity is clearly superior to all others. Different types have been used to advantage by Lutheran people at different times and in different parts of the world. Swedish Lutheranism in the United States has demonstrated the wisdom of this policy anew. Its original adherents, who determined the Augustana pattern, came out of a church that was episcopal and established by law; in the New World, they found the first of these traits undesirable, and the second unconstitutional. Hence a new system had to be developed.

How was this done? First of all, the Swedish pioneers who organized the Augustana Synod were agreed on what they did not want : they did not want an episcopal system. Their treatment of Unonius at New Sweden, Iowa, is a good example of that conviction.[1] Esbjörn didn't even dare to use the regulation church book that he brought along from Sweden, for the purpose of keeping church records. After sensing the feelings of his people in Illinois, he locked his book in a cupboard and wrote the names of his members on a sheet of loose paper instead. The reason is the obvious one : the church book ("kyrkbok") reminded the Swedes in Illinois of the state church in Sweden, and as such it could not be tolerated.[2]

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1. Supra, pp. 49-50.
2. S. Rönnegård, Esbjörn, p. 166.

The Augustana Polity pattern began to take form as soon as the first congregations were organized. The democratic example inspired by the American free-church system was already at work in the neighboring congregations, and the Swedes quite naturally followed this example. For the most part, each of the new Swedish congregations, like the Israelites of old, did what was right in its own eyes. Before the idea of organizing into conferences and synods was ever conceived, each local group "made its own laws and enforced them without any advice or interference whatsoever. . ."[1] Membership in the Synod of Northern Illinois did not do a great deal to alter this condition. Thus it was that a congregational type of polity developed in the Swedish Lutheran congregations. This fact is important because it has affected the polity of the Augustana Church ever since. Synodical authority has never made serious encroachments upon the citadel of congregational freedom in Augustana circles.

The man who is best remembered in connection with the development of Swedish Lutheran polity in America is Pastor Erland Carlsson, who, as noted, arrived in Chicago in 1853.[2] The congregational constitution which he devised for Immanuel Church in 1854 has served as a model ever since.[3] Significantly enough, the outline of Doctor Carlsson's constitution was, more or less, a "reworking" of the congregational constitution recommended by (and used in) the Synod of Northern Illinois.[4]

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1. M. J. Englund in The Augustana Synod, 1860-1910 (Rock Island, Ill., 1910), p. 50.
2. Supra, p. 61.
3. The text of this constitution is found in full in Eric Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, pp. 493-496.
4. Nils Forsander, Lifsbilder ur Augustana-synodens Historia, Vol. I (Rock Island, Ill., 1915), p. 112.

It was not long, however, before the Swedish pastors and their people began to think of banding together, some way, in a unit of their own.[1] Membership in the Synod of Northern Illinois, and by virtue of that (since 1852) in the General Synod, was not sufficient for these intrepid Swedes who wanted to build a strong and lasting church organization. This desire is indicative of the strength and the genuineness of the Lutheran Christianity brought to this country from Sweden. It was not brought here to vegetate, but rather to grow and mature in an atmosphere of freedom.

The first official step taken on the road to eventual synodical organization was the formation of the Swedish Mississippi Conference in 1853. The Synod of Northern Illinois had approved this action at its second yearly meeting in 1852, and the four Swedish pastors involved lost little time in organizing their own little cell within the synod.[2] Meanwhile, the Norwegians in the synod had organized the so-called Norwegian Chicago Conference in the same way. These two Scandinavian conferences then proceeded to have their own meetings, apart from the meetings of the synod, a liason which clearly presaged the formation of the Augustana Synod just a few years later.

The most important of these preparatory steps took place, however, not in Illinois but in the newer state of Minnesota (which was granted statehood in 1858). It did not take the immigrating Swedes long to discover that Minnesota was a well-nigh perfect place for Norsemen to settle.

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1. From the Esbjörn letter to Norelius, March 6, 1855, op. cit.
2. From the Minutes of the Synod of Northern Illinois, October, 1852, as cited in Tidskrift, 1899, p. 2.

Thus it was that they began to arrive there, in rather large numbers, as early as 1853.[1] Student Eric Norelius visited and organized congregations in (what was then) Minnesota Territory in 1854 and 1855,[2] and when he was ordained in 1856 Norelius decided to accept the call sent to him by the Swedish Lutheran Church in Red Wing, Minnesota.[3] In the 1850's Minnesota was quite far removed from the Swedish colonies of Illinois, and Norelius quickly realized that his work would have to assume a rather independent nature. Indicative of this trend was the appearance in November, 1857, of the first issue of Norelius' newspaper, Minnesota Posten. This paper merged with Hemlandet in 1859, and like Hasselquist's paper, it was primarily interested in religion, politics, and the americanization of the Swedes.[4]

But even more important was the formation in 1858 of the Minnesota Conference. As soon as the Swedish congregations in Minnesota were organized, they were looked upon as members of the Mississippi Conference, and on the strength of that fact, as members of the Synod of Northern Illinois and the General Synod as well. But this was not a satisfactory arrangement for the Minnesota Swedes. They felt themselves far removed from the synod, not only geographically but on theological grounds also.[5] Norelius felt that both the conference and the synod dealt with the Minnesota problem in a rather "stepmotherly fashion."[6]

An opportunity to alter this situation presented itself in

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1. Eric Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, pp. 555 ff.
2. Norelius spent his summers in Minnesota Territory while still a student in the seminary.
3. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 637.
4. Minnesota Posten, Nov. 30, 1857.
5. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, pp. 840 ff.
6. Ibid., p. 848.

1857-58, when the non-Scandinavian Lutherans in Minnesota, urged on by the ubiquitous Dr. William A. Passavant of Pittsburgh, Penna., recommended that a Minnesota Synod be formed. What should the Swedes do? Passavant urged Norelius to consider the possibility seriously, but he also reminded him, diplomatically enough, that he and his cohorts in Minnesota should do nothing before consulting Esbjörn and Hasselquist.[1] Norelius was young (twenty-five in 1858), and, as seen, somewhat independent, but he decided to take Passavant's advice even so. It appears that Norelius himself was interested in joining the Minnesota Synod,[2] but both Esbjörn and Hasselquist were opposed. Esbjörn knew that Norelius was unhappy because of the presence of the "new Lutherans" in the Synod of Northern Illinois, but, said he in a letter to Norelius, what makes you think "that you will be free of them where you are?" If your synod is to consist only of Swedes, Esbjörn continued, it will be "impotent" ("vanmäktig"), and if you think you can strengthen it by recruiting Norwegian pastors from Wisconsin, you will find that "you and your friends and congregations are too much americanized for them, and they are too formalistic for you."[3]

Hasselquist's objection was oriented differently. He came to think highly of the leaders of the General Synod,[4] and perhaps it was for this reason that he wrote to Norelius that "we ought not to withdraw from" the General Synod, inasmuch as the Lord, "without our intentions,"

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1. From a letter, Wm. Passavant to E. Norelius, dated Feb. 18, 1858, as cited in G. Stephenson, Founding, p. 94.
2. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 848.
3. Ibid., p. 842.
4. G. Stephenson, Founding, p. 97.

caused them to associate with it.[1] This is a strange letter. Even though it was written but two years before the organization of the Augustana Synod, Hasselquist wrote that, in his opinion (in 1858), "a Scandinavian Synod. . . would be injurious. . ." He concluded by saying that he would rather be in the General Synod than associate "with the so-called State-churchly Norwegian ministers."[2] Hasselquist used the columns of Hemlandet to emphasize the same convictions. The formation of a special (or separate) Scandinavian Synod would be "very unwise," he wrote, not least of all because "we cannot, in the long run, remain Scandinavians."[3] ("wi icke i längden kunna blifva Skandinaver.") He thought that the Swedes could learn a lesson from the Germans, who, in Hasselquist's opinion, had lost many "children" because of their "stubborn Germanness."[4] ("enwisa tyskeri.") Dr. Erland Carlsson also wrote to Norelius deploring what he called "the approaching divorce."[5] ("den stundande skilsmessan.")

The meeting which was called in order to decide whether a separate Minnesota Synod should be organized was held in Norelius' church in Red Wing, on July 5, 1858. Of the eight pastors present, four were Swedish; of the six laymen, no less than five were Swedish. It is obvious that Doctor Norelius and his Swedish Lutheran cohorts were interested in this undertaking. But when the deciding vote was taken, the Swedes insisted that they were not ready to enter such a synod at that time.[6] Thus it

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1. From a letter, T. Hasselquist to E. Norelius, dated May 24, 1858, as cited by O. F. Ander, "Letters on the Proposed Minnesota Synod," in the Augustana Quarterly, Vol. XII, (Rock Island, 1933), p. 361.
2. Ibid.
3. Hemlandet, June 22, 1858.
4. Ibid.
5. From a letter, Erland Carlsson to E. Norelius, dated June 28, 1858, as cited in E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 844.
6. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, pp. 846-847.

was that the Lutheran Minnesota Synod was organized without the Swedish Lutherans in 1858.[1]

One wonders why the interest manifested by the Swedes was not translated into affirmative action. As Doctor Norelius reports it, the Swedes simply said, at the meeting in Red Wing, that they had to consult their brethren in Illinois before they could act.[2] That was merely an excuse, however, for the Minnesota Swedes already knew how the Illinois leaders felt. They surely were not surprised when, at the meeting of the Synod of Northern Illinois in September of 1858, they were "positively forbidden" to join the Minnesota Synod.[3] What then was the real reason for the way the Swedes acted in Minnesota? It is obvious that nationalistic feelings and interests did more than anything to tip the balance. As J. O. Anders says, "the puritanical Swedish mind had never been able to reconcile itself to the more liberal German tradition. . ."[4] Norelius himself admitted that, when it was said, "we Swedes should hold together. . , we felt ourselves powerfully attracted. . ."[5] And then he went on to say, with heavy portent for the future, "It was this that we had desired the whole time, viz., a well-knit Swedish organization, but we could not see its realization within the Synod of Northern Illinois."[6]

But this was not the end of what Anders calls the "Minnesota Crisis." For while the Synod of Northern Illinois denied Norelius and his cohorts the right to affiliate with the Minnesota Synod, they were

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1. Cf. Tidskrift, 1899, p. 133.
2. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 847.
3. The Missionary, October 21, 1858, as cited in G. Stephenson, Founding, p. 102.
4. J. O. Anders, op. cit., p. 26.
5. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 848.
6. Ibid., p. 848.

nevertheless granted permission to form their own conference within the synod.[1] That was accomplished within a month. The Minnesota Conference, which has been the hub of Swedish Lutheranism in America ever since, was organized in October of 1858.[2] This settled one problem, but it didn't settle all. The crisis in Minnesota rather served to announce that the Swedes would soon sever all ties with their non-Scandinavian brethren, in order to form a synod of their own. The Swedes in Minnesota did not have a monopoly on Swedish nationalistic feelings.

VI.

At this same time, the struggle between the conservative Swedes of Illinois and their "American Lutheran" brethren in the Synod of Northern Illinois continued to wax warmer. Hasselquist, as has been seen, was content in the General Synod,[3] but both he and Esbjörn staunchly upheld the orthodox point of view in their own district synod. And that never became any easier. In 1855, as a good example, S. S. Schmucker and his liberal coreligionists, who, in the words of Doctor Bergendoff, wanted to fit historic Lutheranism "onto an American Procrustean bed,"[4] came out with their abortive "Definite Synodical Platform." With this "the die was cast,"[5] and the lines of battle clearly delineated. The Schmuckerites (who were to be found in the Synod of Northern Illinois too) had

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1. Minnesota-konferensens Protokoll, 1858, p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 3.
3. Supra, pp. 72-73.
4. C. J. Bergendoff, "National Aspects of the Lutheran Church in America," in The Augustana Quarterly, Vol. III (Rock Island, Ill., 1924), p. 168.
5. Virgilius Ferm, The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology (New York, 1927), p. 190.

always contended that the Lutheran Church in America would grow and prosper only to the extent that it adapted itself to its New World environment. "By this they meant that the Lutheran Church in America must make wide concessions to the revivalistic and puritanic spirit of the surrounding denominations. . ."[1] The Definite Platform was the blueprint for this surrender. Its most significant aspect, as seen from the Lutheran point of view, was the treatment it accorded the Augsburg Confession and the other historic Lutheran symbols. Confessio Augustana was "presented in an abridged form"; all of the others were "wiped off the board as not essential to Lutheran fellowship."[2]

As has been intimated, however, this ambitious theological revolution did not succeed. The Definite Platform was emphatically repudiated, by and large, and with that "American Lutheranism" went into eclipse. "It was the registered conviction of the great host of Lutherans in America that Lutheranism can live and flourish in this country without giving away its own spirit or adulterating its own original life and character."[3] Hence it was that the basic conservatism of the General Synod was asserted, and it is certainly true that the Swedes and other Scandinavian Lutherans did much to assist in the maintaining of this conviction.[4] Without their contributions, as a matter of fact, the Schmuckerites may well have won the day. Professor Westin refers to the Swedish Lutherans of Illinois as "a really powerful contingent in the conservative campaign" against "American Lutheranism."[5]

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1. A. R. Wentz, The Lutheran Church in American History (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 204.
2. V. Ferm, op. cit., p. 191.
3. A. Wentz, op. cit., p. 210.
4. Doctor Bergendoff has drawn the same conclusion; op. cit., p. 168.
5. G. Westin, Protestantismens Historia i Amerikas Förentra Staterna (Stockholm, 1931), p. 353.

Be that as it may, the Swedish Lutherans of Illinois (and elsewhere) were caught up in this theological melee and literally forced to take a stand almost before they had lost their sea legs. What were they to do? They wanted to be Americans, as has been shown, and yet they were also included among those for whom "an americanization of the Lutheran Church at the expense of Lutheranism could not be permitted."[1] Thus it was that they elected to throw their weight into the balance against Schmuckerism; they decided to be Lutherans first, and to settle the problem "of accommodating Lutheranism to the American spirit. . ."[2] at a later time.

As fate would have it, the battle between the Swedish Lutherans and their "American Lutheran" brethren in the Synod of Northern Illinois was finally joined and settled on the campus of the synodical college. This small school with the ambitious name, "Illinois State University," opened its doors in Springfield[3] in the summer of 1852, less than one year after the organization of the synod. Here it was, among other things, that candidates for the Lutheran ministry were to be trained. But the Scandinavian members of the synod soon came to feel somewhat suspicious of the kind of theology that was being taught there.[4] As a result of this, they agitated to have one of their own men placed on the faculty. Synod agreed to this, and in the fall of 1857 Pastor Esbjörn was elected to serve as the "Scandinavian professor" at Springfield.[5]

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1. Conrad Bergendoff, op. cit., p. 163.
2. A. Wentz, op. cit., p. 204.
3. The I. S. U. campus in Springfield is now occupied by Concordia Theological Seminary of the Missouri Synod.
4. E. Norelius, "Några Hågkomster från året 1854," in Korsbaneret, 1888, p. 143.
5. Minutes of the Synod of Northern Illinois, 1857, p. 9.

Esbjörn was not sure that he wanted to accept this position. He was not even certain that his salary would be paid.[1] The panic of 1857 had left the school in dire financial straits. But he did accept, finally, and began to teach in the fall of 1858. Whether he ever felt at home there, however, appears to be questionable. At the combined meeting of the Chicago and Mississippi Conferences, held in Geneseo, Illinois, in the fall of 1859, Esbjörn had much to complain about. For one thing, he had been forced to teach quite a number of courses that he did not anticipate as the professor of Scandinavian languages and literature.[2] In his second year, his teaching load was reduced to twenty-five hours per week, and that still included four hours of chemistry.[3] That kind of a schedule did not give him enough time for the theological disciplines and for his Scandinavian ministerial students. In addition to that major complaint, Professor Esbjörn also regretted the fact that there was not a single Scandinavian Lutheran Church in Springfield, in which he and his students could worship, and in which the students could receive some practical training.[4] The nearest Swedish settlements were many miles away. And besides all else, the problem of day-to-day existence was extremely difficult for most of the students, and not much better for Esbjörn himself.[5]

At the conclusion of his report to the Geneseo convention,

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1. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to Eric Norelius, dated July 15, 1858, as cited in G. Stephenson, Founding, p. 105.
2. From the Chicago and Mississippi Conference Protokoll, 1859, as cited in Tidskrift, 1899, pp. 112-113.
3. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to Eric Norelius, dated November 15, 1859, as cited in G. Stephenson, Founding, p. 111.
4. From the Chicago and Mississippi Protokoll, op. cit., p. 113.
5. Ibid., p. 114. In his first year at I. S. U., Esbjörn received but $428 of his $700 salary.

however, Esbjörn felt "obligated" to state that their "imperfect" school was worthy of their continued support, "cost what it will."[1] ("kosta hwad den kosta will.") In Esbjörn's estimation, the Springfield school was absolutely essential to their congregations and to the future of their young people as well.[2] It was in this way that Professor Esbjörn began his second year on the faculty of Illinois State University. But in spite of his convictions and intentions, things persisted in going from bad to worse. In October of 1859 Esbjörn wrote to Norelius that he was enduring a kind of Babylonian captivity in Springfield.[3] Throughout that fall he continued to write to Norelius (who was then serving in Attica, Indiana) about the possibility of establishing a school of their own in Chicago. The Esbjörn family visited with the Noreliuses over the holidays in 1859, and when Esbjörn returned to Springfield, Norelius reports that he (Esbjörn) was convinced that the Swedes would have to separate from the Synod of Northern Illinois.[4] The Preparatory Period was swiftly reaching its climax.

Esbjörn had decided to resign his position at the end of the second semester, in the summer of 1860,[5] but it turned out differently. The immediate cause of Esbjörn's hasty resignation, which led in turn to the organization of the Augustana Synod, was a curious mixture of conflicting nationalities and personalities. Esbjörn, as has been seen,[6]

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1. Ibid., p. 114.
2. Ibid., p. 114.
3. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to Eric Norelius, dated October 26, 1859, as cited in E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 806.
4. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, pp. 806-807.
5. G. Stephenson, Founding, p. 118.
6. Supra, p. 58.

was not afraid of exposing himself to the English language and to other things American. But even though that was the case, he still did not want to go too fast. And after he had spent three semesters at the university, he wrote to Hasselquist and complained that his students were becoming "too much americanized" in Springfield. Many of them, he continued, could express themselves better in English than in Swedish or Norwegian. He was convinced that they could control the americanizing process more effectively in a school of their own.[1] He later remarked that the term "americanization" as used at the University was simply a shield to hide the "cunning" introduction of "methodistic - rationalistic" leaven in the hearts of the Swedish students.[2]

Finally, Esbjörn lost all confidence in the president of the institution, one Dr. W. M. Reynolds. Reynolds, it seems, was trying hard to satisfy both the "symbolists" (conservatives) and the "platformists" (liberals) in the synod, and in doing so he became increasingly liberal himself. Reynolds was serving a Lutheran Church in Springfield, but it didn't take Esbjörn long to find out that this church was more Reformed than Lutheran in many respects.[3] In a letter to Norelius (March, 1860), Esbjörn noted that Reynolds was becoming more of a "new Lutheran" every day. He felt that Reynold's profession of orthodoxy was nothing but hypocrisy.[4] As a result of this evidence, Norelius feels that Reynolds was the chief cause of Esbjörn's resignation.[5]

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1. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to T. N. Hasselquist, dated Feb. 7, 1860, as cited in Tidskrift, 1903, p. 203.
2. The Olive Branch, May,1860, as cited in S. Rönnegård, op. cit., p. 275.
3. S. Rönnegård, op. cit., p. 270.
4. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to Eric Norelius, dated March 19, 1860, as cited in Tidskrift, 1899, pp. 315-316.
5. Eric Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 813.

Matters came to a head at the end of March, 1860. Because they had found no church home in Springfield, Esbjörn and the Scandinavian students had begun to meet together on Sunday afternoons.[1] Esbjörn had also received permission from Reynolds to serve communion at some of these private services. But on one such occasion, Esbjörn took the liberty to warn the students about "false doctrine."[2] When Reynolds heard of this, he went immediately to Esbjörn's home, upbraided him for making his implied criticism, and threatened to reprove him publicly. Esbjörn responded by resigning at once.[3] His Swedish students also severed connections with the school.

Esbjörn left Springfield and his academic position without knowing just exactly what his Swedish cohorts thought of his revolutionary action. He had acted solely on his own authority. But he did not have to wait long for an answer. The United Scandinavian Conference had decided (even before Esbjörn's "hegira") to meet in Chicago on the 23rd of April, and Esbjörn was there to explain. He had found, he said in his report, that their attempt to cooperate with those who were not "fully devoted" to the historic Lutheran confessions must eventually work to their harm. Those who do not agree with us, he said, "must unconsciously seek to turn and reduce what they look upon as error."[4] President Reynolds and Doctor Harkey, the President of the Synod of Northern Illinois,

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1. From the Chicago and Mississippi Conference Protokoll, September, 1859, as cited in Tidskrift, 1898, p. 113.
2. Hemlandet, August 1, 1860, as cited in G. Stephenson, Founding, pp.115-116.
3. From a letter, S. W. Harkey to T. N. Hasselquist, dated March 31, 1860, as cited in S. Rönnegård, op. cit., p. 273.
4. From Esbjörn's report to the Scandinavian Conference, April, 1860, as cited in the Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. X, p. 188.

were also given an opportunity to speak before the conference, but to no avail; Esbjörn's resignation was approved, and he was officially thanked for the zealous and faithful manner in which he had cared for his professorial responsibilities.[1] President Harkey continued his argument in The Olive Branch,[2] the magazine which he edited on behalf of Illinois State University, but the breach refused to heal. Doctor Harkey did receive some balm for his wounds, however, for "a good brother" from the Augustana Synod wrote to him that "although the dissolution of our connection with the Synod of Northern Illinois was somewhat hasty, we yet feel very kindly towards the brethren of said synod."[3] Harkey does not identify the person who wrote this letter, but in his article (written in 1866) he does acknowledge that it was sent from Paxton, Illinois. One wonders if Hasselquist may have been the author.[4]

The April (1860) meeting of the United Scandinavian Conference had also stipulated that all Scandinavian pastors and congregations should sever their ties with the Synod of Northern Illinois, and that a meeting should be held the next June in order to organize a new synod.[5] This, accordingly, was done. The delegation met at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, on the 5th of June, and the Scandinavian Augustana Synod was brought into being. Pastor T. N. Hasselquist was elected to serve as the synod's first president.[6] Professor Esbjörn was named president of the newly-

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1. From the Chicago, Mississippi and Minnesota Conference Protokoll, April, 1860, as cited in Tidskrift, 1898, pp. 127-128.
2. Cf. The Olive Branch, May, 1860.
3. S. W. Harkey, "The Early History of Lutheranism in Illinois," in The Evangelical Quarterly Review, Vol. XVII, (Gettysburg, Pa., 1866), p. 543.
4. Hasselquist moved to Paxton in 1863.
5. From the Chicago, Mississippi and Minnesota Conference Protokoll, April, 1860, as cited in Tidskrift, 1898, p. 128.
6. Augustana-synodens Protokoll, 1860, p. 4.

created Augustana Seminary, which had its first home in Chicago.[1]

More will be said about the new synod as such in the next part. But as Part Two is brought to a close, it will be of interest to see what the Augustana leaders had in mind when they launched forth upon an independent course in 1860. As far as the Swedish element was concerned, all evidence points to this conclusion, that the Swedes who helped to organize the Augustana Synod wanted above all to build an American church on a pure Lutheran foundation. They did not want their church to be a mere branch of the Church of Sweden in the New World. Hasselquist dared to pray for a truly "united Lutheran Church" in the United States,[2] of which his group would be a part. Just one month before the synod was organized, Norelius wrote that "we are not, and will never be shut up within our own nationality; we will be more and more americanized with every day. But in doing so, must we necessarily lose the faith of our fathers?"[3] That statement seemed to epitomize the attitude of the Swedes in 1860 : they wanted to be Americans, but they insisted on being soundly Lutheran at the same time.

But as shall be seen, the Augustana Swedes of later years were not always sure that they could be both Lutheran and American at the same time. There was a definite "period of hesitation" as regards the americanization of the Augustana Lutheran Church. The spirit of 1860 did not persist indefinitely, without interruption. This reaction will be described in the following pages. At this juncture, it is interesting to

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1. Ibid., p. 6.
2. O. N. Olson, A Century, etc., p. 34.
3. The Missionary, May 17, 1860.

wonder, How can the initial attitude be accounted for? Why were the "fathers" of the Augustana Synod as far advanced as they were in the matter of americanizing their new church group? Evidence already supplied provides the best answers to this query. In the first place, many of these immigrant Swedes had already made great strides in adapting themselves, as private citizens, to life in their new homeland, and their church life was naturally affected as a result. The convictions of such courageous and far-sighted leaders as T. N. Hasselquist, Erland Carlsson and Eric Norelius also was a great boon in this matter. Another thing that entered in was the association with other Lutherans which the Swedes had enjoyed in the Synod of Northern Illinois. Many of these synodical coworkers were from the older, americanized Lutheran stock, and because of that they were able to assist the Swedes in their orientation to the American ecclesiastical environment. The use of the English language at synodical meetings was also good for the immigrant Swedes. Norelius feels that this kind of experience, received early in the history of Swedish Lutheranism here in the United States, helped to save the Swedes from a "possible injurious seclusion."[1] ("kanske skadlig afskildhet"). The influence of the American Home Missionary Society, especially in the case of T. N. Hasselquist (the first President of the Augustana Synod), cannot be overlooked in this connection either.

Richard Niebuhr asserts that the history of the immigrant denominations in our country has manifested two main tendencies. The first

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1. E. Norelius, "Guds Ledande Hand i Vår Svenska Lutherska Kyrkas Historia i Amerika," in Korsbaneret (Rock Island, Ill., 1886), pp. 26-27.

is in the direction of conformity, and the second is in the direction of differentiation.[1] Augustana has been faithful to this pattern. Up to and including 1860 the Swedish Lutherans did give evidence of a willingness to conform, in a degree, at least, to the standards of the older churches. This conformity was never, by any means, complete, but the propensity was apparent. Now it will be necessary to see what the period of differentiation was like.

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1. H. R. Niebuhr, op. cit., p. 203.

PART THREE

"The Period of Hesitation, 1860-1890"

Part Three - "The Period of Hesitation, 1860-1890."

I.

The Augustana Synod was organized when twenty-seven pastors and thirteen laymen, representing forty-nine Swedish congregations and thirteen Norwegian, with a combined membership of 4,967, decided in a free and democratic manner that this should be done.[1] The name "Augustana"[2] was chosen, upon the recommendation of Eric Norelius,[3] because these embattled Scandinavians wanted all the world to know that their synod was to be built on a firm confessional basis. Their experiences in the Synod of Northern Illinois had convinced them of the utter necessity of taking an unequivocal stand on the faith which they had brought along from the Old World. The doctrinally lax emotionalism which "characterized much of the evangelical awakening in Sweden and American revivalism" was thus repudiated.[4] The Augustana constitution recognizes the Bible as "the revealed word of God," and as "the only infallible rule and standard of faith and practice."[5] The unaltered Augsburg Confession was chosen as the basis of Augustana's Lutheran position, inasmuch as it summarizes "the essentials of Christian doctrine," and the other Lutheran symbols were also accepted because they, in turn, develope and explain Augustana invariata.[6] The three ecumenical

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1. Augustana-synodens Protokoll, 1860, passim.
2. "Augustana" is the latinized form of Augsburg.
3. Sam Rönnegård, Lars Paul Esbjörn (Stockholm, 1949), p. 279.
4. O. N. Olson, The Augustana Lutheran Church in America. Pioneer Period, 1846-1860 (Rock Island, Ill., 1950), p. 260.
5. Protokoll, 1860, p. 17 (the entire constitution as adopted in 1860 is found on pages 17-24 in this Protokoll).
6. Ibid., p. 17.

creeds were also adopted at the organization meeting.[1]

What language was the new group to employ? Interestingly enough, the declaration of faith adopted by this immigrant Scandinavian synod in 1860 was written in English.[2] Then too, Doctor Bergendoff contends that the original draft of the constitution which was adopted at the organization meeting was also written in English.[3] In the minutes of this meeting the constitution is printed in Swedish, but Bergendoff believes that the committee's report was originally drawn up in English. In spite of all such evidence, however, Norelius implies in his Historia that the Swedes were happy to use their mother tongue in religious matters once again. English was all right in business and politics, he writes, but when it came to spiritual concerns they preferred the language of the heart, which, for the Swedes in America in 1860, was Swedish.[4] They recognized anew with the formation of their own synod that they were still Swedes, fundamentally, and that was why their mother tongue was so precious to them.[5] The hope was expressed that the Swedish and English languages would be used side by side, without preference,[6] but such was hardly the case in actual practice. Two generations were to pass before the English language received its rightful place in the churches and schools and meetings of the Augustana Synod.

The contention that the break with the Synod of Northern Illinois

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1. Ibid., p. 17.
2. The present writer signed this declaration when he was ordained in 1946. All Augustana pastors are required to do so.
3. C. J. Bergendoff, "The Sources of the Original Constitution of the Augustana Synod, 1860," in Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. V, p. 85.
4. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 12.
5. Ibid., p. 12.
6. Augustana Synod's Protokoll, 1883, p. 16.

and the creation of their own synod precipitated a definite conservative reaction within the ranks of the Swedish Lutherans cannot be questioned. Further interesting evidence to this effect is to be found in a letter which was sent to the famous Stockholm newspaper, Aftonbladet, on behalf of the new synod. In this letter it was stated that "our language is and shall long remain Swedish, our simple Swedish customs and usages are now doubly dear to us, and all that has come with us from that beloved fatherland is ineffably dear. We are still Swedes, heart and soul, and we desire to remain as such. . ."[1] This letter was dated August 27, 1860. Two of the men who signed it were T. N. Hasselquist and Erland Carlsson. It is true that they went on in this letter to ask the citizens of Sweden for money and books (for the new Augustana Seminary) and other assistance, but the sentiments quoted above surely were not written carelessly.

Shortly thereafter another Swedish newspaper, Wäktaren, reported that Pastor O. C. T. Andren had been sent to Sweden by the Augustana Synod. According to this report, Pastor Andren was commissioned to do two things : one, to present "careful and dependable reports on the newly-formed church in America," and two, to establish "a connection between that church and the mother church in Sweden. . ."[2] It would be impossible to show that any official relationships were ever established between the Augustana Synod and the Church of Sweden, but these statements do appear to affirm, that in the midst of their reaction, the Swedish Lutherans of America looked back even to the fatherland ("fosterjord") which they had once repudiated.

But this reaction was by no means complete and permanent. When

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1. Aftonbladet, Nov. 2, 1860.
2. Wäktaren, November 1, 1860.

one examines the constitution that the Augustana Synod adopted in 1860, for example, the influence of the American environment is clearly seen. For the most part, this constitution was "a copy of the constitution of the Synod of Northern Illinois, which had been adopted in 1851, and amended at various times before 1860. . ."[1] The Synod of Northern Illinois, in turn, had borrowed to a large extent from the type of constitution which was "prevalent" ("gängse") in the General Synod at that time, a model which could be traced back to H. M. Muhlenberg "and his contemporaries."[2] The chief exceptions in the Augustana constitution concerned the synod's confessional basis and the abolishing of the system of licensing lay preachers, together with some "less essential items."[3] Doctor Hasselquist, according to Pastor John Teleen, said that the Augustana constitution reminded him of the Scottish Free Church in particular and of the Presbyterian system in general. Hasselquist also admitted that the Augustana constitution had an American "impression" ("prägel"), and he refused to apologize for it. After all, he said, "we must take into consideration the country in which we build and live."[4]

Church government, according to this original constitution, was to be thoroughly democratic. The one exception, perhaps, was this (Section I, article 4), that the number of lay delegates should never exceed the number of clerical delegates at the synodical meetings. Lay representation at the meetings of synod was, however, guaranteed. The chief synodical officer

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1. C. Bergendoff, "The Sources, etc.," p. 85.
2. "N", "Några Ord i Synodens Författningsfrage," in Augustana och Missionären, March 28, 1889. ("Was "N" Doctor Norelius?)
3. Ibid.
4. J. Teleen, "Augustana-synodens författningar," in Augustana, August 5, 1909.

was to be called "president," elected for one year only (Section II, article 2.)[1] Synod was to meet every year, and the president was obliged to make a full report of all of his activities (for the year past) to these meetings.[2] At these church conventions the Swedes "followed closely the order of procedure of their American brethren."[3]

In article 7 of Section III the Augustana constitution stipulated that the synodical president should visit the congregations of the synod just as often as possible.[4] This, it may be argued, was a carryover from the Swedish episcopal system, which still prescribes that the bishop shall visit his congregations. In spite of this vestigial element, however, the thought of organizing an episcopal system was emphatically rejected by the founders of the Augustana Synod. Several years after the historic meeting at Jefferson Prairie (1869), the Episcopalian Church made the following offer: they said that if the synod would send a man to Sweden to be consecrated, and if they would then accept the episcopal system, they (the Episcopalians) would assist Augustana with its missionary and educational work. One might think that the small, struggling synod would have hastened to accept -- but such was not the case. Dr. S. L. Harkey (erstwhile president of the Synod of Northern Illinois), who acted as intermediary, tells that he received (in substance) the following answer from the Augustana Synod : "We have just escaped the bondage and thralldom of the hierarchical yoke in our fatherland, and now they offer to saddle it upon us again! No; God be praised, we are free, and we shall remain free!"[5] Harkey also

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1. The presidential term has now been lengthened to four years.
2. Protokoll, 1860, pp. 17-24.
3. O. N. Olson, The Augustana Church, etc., p. 260.
4. Protokoll, 1860, p. 19.
5. From The Augustana Journal, Jan. 15, 1898, p. 2.

went on to say that "not one of the fathers of the Augustana Synod" favored the episcopal system, and that they "became excited with indignation whenever the subject was mentioned to them."[1]

Another question dealt with at the organization meeting of the Augustana Synod had to do with the missionary responsibility of the new group. The beginning of Augustana's foreign missionary activity was still twenty years away in 1860,[2] but the problem of dealing with the challenge of home missions could not be put off a single day. The immigrants were coming faster than the congregations were being organized, and congregations were being organized faster than pastors were being trained to serve them. Thus it was that a committee of three was elected at Jefferson Prairie to supervise the home mission work of the new synod.[3] In the following month (July, 1860), Pastor Norelius was hired by this committee to serve as the synod's "traveling missionary" ("respredikant"), particularly in Minnesota, the state to which most of the immigrant Swedes were coming. In 1870, after the Norwegian defection, the Home Missions Committee was replaced by the "Central Committee" ("Centralbestyrelsen"), which was composed of eight members. Each of the synod's conferences was thenceforth looked upon as a separate mission district.[4] This, in brief, was the plan. The goal, in brief, was simply this, to win as many Swedes as possible for the Augustana Synod.

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1. Ibid., p. 2.
2. Augustana's first foreign missionary, Pastor A. B. Carlson, was sent to India in 1879.
3. Protokoll, 1860, p. 12.
4. Protokoll, 1870, p. 37.

II.

What was congregational life like in the new synod? As far as the polity of the member churches is concerned, it is obvious that this went untouched in the revolution led by Professor Esbjörn. Their synodical allegiance had been altered, but in (and after) 1860, as before, they had "more in common with Congregationalism and Presbyterianism than. . . with European Lutheranism" in the matter of polity.[1] As noted above,[2] the Swedish churches founded here before 1860 developed, quite naturally, a congregational form of local church government. This became normative for Augustana churches, and is so yet today. But it must be understood that this congregationalism refers only to church government, and not to the ambiguous theological stand of the Congregationalists. Augustana congregationalism implies that each local congregation is free to solve its practical problems in its own way (if it so desires), but it does not imply a theological latitudinarianism. Augustana churches are congregational in polity, but strictly Lutheran in theology.

Like most of the Scandinavians who came to America and subsequently affiliated with a church, the Swedes in the Augustana Synod had a tendency to be somewhat puritanical in their daily walk. In the resolutions based on the president's report to synod in 1868 it was declared that card playing, dancing, theater presentations, and free-masonry are opposed to God's word, and inconsistent with an earnest Christian life. Pastors were urged to resist all attempts to "equate Christ with Belial."[3] In the following year

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1. G. Stephenson, The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis, Minn., 1932), p. 177.
2. Supra, p. 69.
3. Protokoll, 1868, p. 25.

President Hasselquist saw fit to advise that "church discipline" ("kyrko-tukt") be taken seriously within the congregations, in order that all error and laxity might be dealt with summarily.[1] It is quite apparent that not all of the first Augustana members were pious, "plaster saints."

The influence of the American environment played a definite role in shaping congregational life in the young Scandinavian synod. America's free-church system insisted, for example, that the Augustana churches, like all others, had to be supported by the voluntary gifts of their members. This was not an easy lesson for the Swedes to learn. The Andover congregation still did not have a treasury seven years after its founding (1857). When the members of this congregation were asked, in May of 1857, whether new members should be asked to "give a little gift" to help establish a treasury, the majority agreed; and while some remained silent in the face of this proposal, no one said no.[2] Per capita giving in the synod totalled $2.95 in 1860, $5.01 in 1870, $6.25 in 1880; the $10 mark was not reached until 1905.[3] It goes without saying of course that penury helped to determine these figures.

But the fact that the Augustana Synod was attempting to grow on American soil presented other problems as well. There was the earthy problem of competition, for example. Other church groups, using without shame the emotional appeal, camp meetings, and so forth, did what they legally could to win new adherents from among the immigrants. In order to meet such

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1. Protokoll, 1869, p. 7.
2. Andover, Illinois, congregation's Minutes for May 21, 1857, as cited in Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. X (Rock Island, Ill., 1944), pp. 35-36.
3. Augustana Lutheran Church Minutes, 1953, p. 622. The $50 mark was passed in 1951.

competition, the Augustana congregations sometimes adopted similar tactics. Thus it was that in his report to synod in 1877, President Eric Norelius mentioned the fact that "not so few congregations" had experienced revivals. And while he said that "that is something over which we can truthfully rejoice," Norelius concluded by saying that "we ought not for that reason underestimate the usual, quiet manner by which it pleases the Lord to bring souls to himself."[1] But revivals there were, and giving in on one point often meant to surrender on others as well. Hasselquist was once led to complain about Swedish Lutheran churches which were beginning to look more like the "neighboring American churches, that is, Reformed churches," than like Lutheran churches. At the same time he praised the members of the Chisago Lake, Minnesota, congregation for having a church with "a Swedish appearance."[2]

The pastors who served these early congregations also make an interesting study. Professor Stephenson reports that a Swedish editor by the name of Isidor Kjellberg, who came over to see the Swedish Lutheran Church in America, was very disappointed (as one might expect), especially with the pastors. "He forgot," comments Stephenson, "that the same leveling process of the American frontier that. . . produced the self-made man in politics and business also produced the uncultured, narrow, intolerant, and plain-spoken man in the pulpit."[3] It is true, unfortunately, that the high standards of theological training established in Sweden could not be insisted upon in the early history of the Augustana Synod. As a matter of fact,

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1. Protokoll, 1877, pp. 8-9.
2. E. Norelius, T. N. Hasselquist (Rock Island, Ill., n. d.), p. 82.
3. G. Stephenson, Aspects, p. 199.

many of the first Augustana pastors were ordained with little or no formal theological training. But the need for pastors was great and immediate, and it was this fact above all that explains the comparatively low standards for ordination in the early years of the synod. The seminary was permitted to receive "hospitants," older men with but little preparatory education, who would study at the seminary for a year or two and then go out into the parish ministry as ordained pastors. Lay preachers were used too.[1] Standards for ordination were raised as quickly as possible, but in the first years the synod could not afford to be too strict.

Besides disappointing men like Herr Kjellberg, these practices gave rise to other results as well. Some of the Norwegian Lutherans in America, for example, were quite surprised to learn that Augustana would ordain men who were not fully trained, and authorize men to preach who weren't even ordained. As they interpreted the Fourteenth Article of the Augsburg Confession,[2] only a trained and ordained clergyman is legally called and empowered to preach and teach the word in public.[3] At the same time, there were also members of the Augustana Synod who were displeased with these "narrow, intolerant," and poorly trained clerics. These malcontents were particularly unhappy about the way in which their pastors wielded their disciplinary authority in the church. Therefore, according to Hasselquist, the cry went up in such places for "'educated' pastors from Sweden."[4]

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1. These lay preachers were called "catechists." They were empowered by the constitution to preach and catechise. Cf. Protokoll, 1860, p. 22.
2. This article says "that no one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments unless he be regularly called." Cf. the Book of Concord (St. Louis, Mo., 1952), p. 14.
3. Wäktaren, Dec. 6, 1860.
4. From a letter, T. Hasselquist to Peter Wieselgren, dated Jan. 3, 1868, as cited in G. Westin, Emigranterna och Kyrkan, p. 157.

They probably figured that the more educated and sophisticated a pastor was, the less puritanic he would be. Perhaps so. But be that as it may, the spirit of the puritans did not depart from the Augustana Synod immediately.

With the growth and development of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, however, the levels of theological training gradually improved. (More will be said about this in a later section.) In 1885, as a matter of fact, President (of the synod) Erland Carlsson was prompted to recommend that practical theology be given a greater amount of attention at the seminary. The implication is that the exegetical, historical and systematic departments were doing a sufficiently good job at that time. President Carlsson was especially interested in the development of a course in "pastoral-teologie."[1]

An interesting description of Augustana pastors has come from the pen of a Swedish layman who published his impressions in 1882. It was often said at that time, according to Herr Boissy, that the "kristendom" that the Augustana Synod wanted its pastors to have and to teach was not the old Lutheranism, but rather "the later Lutheran pietism, with its almost sickly emotionalism and its often bitter intolerance." But while that may have been true in some cases, Herr Boisy continued, there are also a large number of Augustana pastors, "both older and younger, who are free from this tendency. . . Especially among the younger men can one find many with real ability. They have united a fresh and free outlook on life with a deep love for their calling, and a deep consciousness of its great importance."[2]

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1. Augustana-synodens Referat, 1885, p. 21.
2. Tancred Boissy, Svenska Nationaliteten i Förentra Staterna (Gothenburg, 1882), pp. 16-17.

Closely allied with the preaching ministry is the task of parish education. As has been seen, Sunday Schools were organized in the Swedish congregations from the very outset.[1] But at the same time, there were those in the earlier history of the synod who also insisted that parochial schools be established and maintained. Gustavus Adolphus College, of St. Peter, Minnesota, was founded in Red Wing, Minnesota, in 1862 when the Minnesota Conference requested Pastor Norelius to stay in one place long enough to train a group of young men who were needed as teachers in the parochial schools of the conference. Both the English and the Swedish languages were to be used in this school.[2] This trend did not last very long however; the shortage of funds and teachers, plus the growth of the public schools, soon spelled its doom.[3]

It was not long before the Swedes of Augustana accepted the public schools as an integral part of life in "their adopted country."[4] But until this opinion became general, the devotees of the parochial system (in particular) had some rather harsh things to say about public education. In 1884, for example, the Rev. Johannes Fremling, the president of the Minnesota Conference (and a representative of "the narrow, rural attitude"[5]), remarked that "it is really sad that children shall be compelled to spend eight months annually to learn to spell the English language. . ." In Herr Fremling's opinion they learned little else at the district school, unless, as he said, one includes "immorality, discourtesy, and impertinence, in the curriculum. . ."[6]

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1. Supra, pp. 58, 63.
2. Minnesota-konferensens Protokoll, Oct., 1862, as cited in Tidskrift, 1899, p. 171.
3. Cf. Protokoll, 1872, p. 15.
4. O. N. Olson, The Augustana Church, etc., p. 338.
5. J. Anders Olson, "The Swedes on the American Church Frontier," in the Augustana Quarterly, Vol. XVII (Rock Island, Ill.), p. 242.
6. Ibid., p. 242.

Even the Sunday school came in for some criticism before it was fully accepted. Some thought it had too much in common with the Reformed emphasis to deserve a place in the Lutheran Church. The fact that the Sunday school lessons often stressed the need of an "immediate conversion" was particularly distasteful.[1] Lutheran hearts were also saddened to see the Sunday school session displace the congregation's worship service in the lives of so many children.

The worship services of the new synod were soon standardized on the basis of the liturgical practices of the Church of Sweden. It appears to be true, as has been shown,[2] that certain liturgical liberties were taken in some of the churches organized in the 1850's. But even Pastor Hasselquist, who was rather liberal in such matters in those early days, stated in 1856 that the public services "should be essentially in accord with the Swedish handbook."[3] He probably had in mind a resolution drawn up at the meeting of the Mississippi Conference in January of 1853, which stipulated that the pastors in the Swedish congregations were to use "the Swedish handbook or liturgy at the chief morning service."[4]

The official position of the synod was agreed upon in 1863, a brief three years after its founding. At the synodical meeting in that year of the Emancipation Proclamation, it was recognized that the Lutheran confessions do permit "Christian freedom" in such matters. But at the same time, synod voiced the conviction that "similarity in church practices and ceremonies is beneficial;" moreover, synod refused to "approve of the

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1. V. Berger, op. cit., p. 63.
2. Supra, p. 64.
3. Hemlandet, May 1, 1856.
4. Mississippi-konferensens Protokoll, Jan., 1853, as cited in Tidskrift, 1898, p. 4.

inclination to displace the inherited forms with those of the new, reformed tendency."[1] Thus it can be said that the Augustana Lutheran Church has used the very same liturgy throughout its ninety-four years of history. It is simply a literal translation of the liturgy of the Church of Sweden.

Clerical dress was also copied from Swedish models. Esbjörn placed his "prästkappa" (a long flowing cape) into a chest when he arrived in Andover,[2] but when Norelius visited in Andover for the first time a year later (1850), he discovered that Esbjörn used both the "prästrock" (a modified cassock) and "prästkrage" (the "bands" worn around the neck.)[3] This was the common dress of Augustana pastors until the Luther Robe displaced the "prästrock" earlier in the present century.

But of course it was not possible to please everyone. The Galesburg congregation informed synod in 1868 that no pastor would be permitted to appear in their church with any special kind of dress, or ceremonies; "we are satisfied just to hear the word of God."[4] Synod's resolution on this communication chided the Galesburg people for attaching so much weight "to externals"("på yttre ting"), and then went on to say that, as far as was known, none of its Swedish pastors used special dress and ceremonies not used in the Church of Sweden.[5]

One easily gets the impression that liturgical matters were as important in the first years of Augustana history as they have been since. Augustana churches have been improved upon, to be sure, and acolytes and stoles and other incidentals have been added (in some places), but the

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1. Protokoll, 1863, p. 13.
2. S. Rönnegård, Esbjörn, p. 166.
3. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 144.
4. Protokoll, 1868, p. 44.
5. Ibid., p. 45.

liturgy remains the same. Even church music came in for its share of attention soon after the immigrants began to arrive from Sweden. At a Scandinavian Conference meeting held in Chicago in 1854, for example, it was noted that the Swedish chorals should not be exchanged in favor of the less worshipful and impressive "English church music."[1] ("engelska kyrkosång.") Many other matters claimed the time and attention of these pioneers of a century ago, but few things (if any) were more important than their worship life; even church music was important in the small frame churches of the great West.

III.

The Confederate guns which humbled Fort Sumter and thus touched off the Civil War were fired less than a year after the Augustana Synod was organized. This chronological relationship is not without significance in the history of said synod. For even though the great majority of the "real Swedes" in America in 1861 were relative newcomers, and even though they did not live, for the most part, in areas where slavery was practiced, they nevertheless took an active interest in the political as well as in the military issues which were at stake in that titanic struggle. Mr. A. B. Hart claims that "when the war broke out in 1861, the Swedes showed more intelligent interest in the struggle than many of their neighbors of English and other races. . ."[2] It has been shown that under the influence

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1. Chicago and Mississippi Conference Protokoll, January, 1854, as cited in Tidskrift, 1898, p. 9. Cf. also Allan Arvastson, Den Thomander-Wieselgrenska Psalmboken (Lund, 1949), p. 186.
2. A. B. Hart, Swedish-Americanism (Philadelphia, 1929), p. 19.

of Hasselquist and Hemlandet, "it became almost a matter of salvation" for a Swede to be a Republican and a follower of Lincoln,[1] whom they looked upon "as their leader"[2] in things political.

For this reason, among others, the Swedes were not slow to act when the President sent out his call for volunteers. It would be impossible, of course, to tell exactly how many responded in this way. Professor Ander feels that "a surprisingly large number of Scandinavians" enlisted in the Federal Army, and he notes, "it is estimated that three or four thousand Swedes fought as Union soldiers."[3] One might get a more accurate picture by studying the original muster rolls, but even that would be complicated by the fact that many Swedes changed their names before they enlisted.[4] Doctor Norelius, who turned twenty-eight in 1861, says that "only old men and young boys" ("blott gamla gubbar och unga gossar") remained to take care of home-front matters in some communities. The predominantly Swedish community at Vasa, Minnesota, sent no less than sixty-two men into the army.[5]

All of this was to have an effect on the infant Augustana Synod. No new churches were dedicated in the synod during the first two years of the war, and the enrollment at Augustana Seminary (which was moved to Paxton, Illinois, in 1863) decreased as the internecine struggle continued.[6] At the same time, immigration continued; the farm states of the so-called Northwest, to which many Scandinavians were even more powerfully attracted after the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862, were never threatened by

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1. Supra, p. 67.
2. G. A. Andreen, "The Story of Augustana College and Theological Seminary," in After Seventy-five Years, p. 29.
3. O. F. Ander, Hasselquist, p. 88.
4. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 142.
5. Ibid., p. 143.
6. O. F. Ander, op. cit., p. 88.

military invasion.[1] That meant even greater responsibilities for the synod's home missions committee, but as the war continued to make ever greater inroads into the national resources there was less and less money for the work of missions.[2] Then too, pastors (of the proper age) were also subject to the Conscription Act (passed by Congress in March, 1863[3]), and even though the present writer cannot show that any Augustana pastors were drafted, the possibility (and the fear) was present in the two years preceding Appomattox. At the synodical meeting in 1863, the Mississippi Conference asked synod to make the following recommendation : "in the event that a pastor is drafted for service, and his congregation is willing but unable to pay the amount required to release him, the other congregations should then help such a congregation free its pastor in whatever way seems best."[4]

But the influence of the Civil War was by no means totally negative as far as the Augustana Synod was concerned. The work which had been started before the war was carried on without interruption in the Swedish Lutheran congregations.[5] And while some other church groups were being torn apart in the theological discord engendered and magnified by the political and military strife of that fateful era, the Swedes "witnessed not a ripple of controversy within their church organizations on the slavery question."[6] Why was this the case? Chiefly because the Swede abhors oppression, and appreciates the value of human dignity and personal freedom. Controversy is impossible when men are in perfect agreement. At the same time, it was

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1. K. C. Babcock, The Scandinavian Element in the United States (Urbana, Ill., 1914), p. 68.
2. E. Norelius, Vol. II, p. 144.
3. S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager, op. cit., p. 704.
4. Protokoll, 1863, p. 14.
5. Protokoll, 1864, p. 4.
6. T. Blegen, op. cit., p. 420; cf. Protokoll, 1867, p. 38.

true of the Augustana Synod as of other church groups, that the four years of agony and bloodshed produced a heightened spirituality, a deeper sense of need. Norelius reports that as the war went on, one could see "in many a greater desire to hear and use God's word, to support the work of missions among the scattered countrymen, and to practice Christian charity in other ways."[1] President Hasselquist was able to say in his report to synod in 1864 that the year on which he was reporting had been comparatively "quiet and peaceful" within the congregations.[2]

Finally, it can definitely be stated that the Civil War did much to contribute to "the larger immigrant transition to American life."[3] For the Swedes who were then shaping the destinies of the Augustana Synod, the war and its eventual outcome was of crucial importance. For them, as for other immigrants, "the past in Europe was overshadowed by the future in America. Four years of anxiety, binding the immigrant family by personal ties to the fortunes of the struggling nation, created a new attitude toward the society which their sons were fighting to preserve."[4] In the history of the Augustana Synod, it is not unimportant that the Civil War was fought so soon after the conservative reaction induced by the "Springfield imbroglio"[5] and the organization of the separate Scandinavian synod. This chronology was entirely fortuitous, of course, but for the Swedish Lutherans of America it was also fortunate -- at least in a limited sort of a way. The influence of the returning servicemen cannot be overlooked either. These men were surely more completely American when they returned

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1. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 146.
2. Protokoll, 1864, p. 5.
3. T. Blegen, op. cit., p. 389.
4. M. L. Hansen, op. cit., p. 141.
5. As Prof. Stephenson refers to it; cf. Founding, pp. 105 ff.

than when they began their war service.[1] And even though this contention cannot be weighed, the veterans who actively participated in the congregational life of the Augustana Synod in the years following 1865 surely contributed in some way to the further americanization of their church group.

IV.

But the new synod was to find that new problems would continue to arise. After the end of the Civil War, for example, the number of immigrants arriving from Sweden became ever larger. Over one hundred thousand came to this country during the 1870's, and nearly three hundred and twenty-five thousand arrived during the 1880's.[2] Hard times in Sweden, plus the conviction that things would be better in America, were primarily responsible. Severe crop failures in 1868, 1869 and 1870 resulted in real famine conditions in southern Sweden, and this, in turn, heightened the desire to emigrate.[3] Nearly ninety per cent of the more than fifty thousand Swedes who did emigrate in 1868 and 1869 came from the rural districts.[4]

This high proportion of rural emigrants was not destined to last indefinitely, however. In the last third of the nineteenth century Sweden became increasingly industrialized, a fact which helped to alter this situation considerably. For a time, in the years immediately after the end of the Franco-Prussian War, this increased industrial activity served to stem the tide of emigration.[5] But not for long; the "good times" soon came to

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1. Nels Hokanson, Swedish Immigrants in Lincoln's Time (New York, 1942), p. 77.
2. Supra, p. 46.
3. Emeroy Johnson, op. cit., p. 231; cf. G. Stephenson, Aspects, p. 103.
4. E. Johnson, op. cit., p. 231.
5. V. Berger, op. cit., p. 13.

an end, and emigration statistics went up correspondingly. Thus it was that a different kind of immigrant began to arrive from Sweden. The "new" immigrant was more than likely an ex-factory hand who possessed an industrial skill of one kind or another.[1] This type of immigrant did not want a farm, he simply wanted to improve his living conditions.[2] He may have gone first to visit with friends or relatives who had farms in the mid-West,[3] but chances are that he finally settled down in one of the industrial cities on the eastern seaboard.[4]

The post-Civil War immigrant from Sweden was different in other noteworthy ways as well. The religious climate in Sweden changed quite radically after the repeal of the law prohibiting conventicles (1858), and it was not long before this change was felt in America. President Hasselquist noted in his report to synod in 1868 that the spiritual awakening which Sweden had experienced did not simply produce good fruit. He complained about the "immature and even bitter and poisonous fruit" borne in "miscellaneous spiritual parties," most of which were opposed to the Lutheran Church.[5] The Minnesota Conference was told by its president in 1882 that many if not most of the immigrants were so influenced by separatistic and anti-church leaven that they were "virtually out of the reach of a sound Christian program."[6] When it became apparent that these "faithless children" were

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1. Consul G. N. Swan, "In Journalism and Literature," in Minnen från Jubelfesten, 1910 (Rock Island, Ill., 1911), p. 88.
2. V. Berger, op. cit., p. 14.
3. Helge Nelson, Svenskarnas Utbredning i Nord Amerika (n. p., 1925), p. 4.
4. K. C. Babcock, "The Scandinavian Contingent," in The Atlantic Monthly, May, 1896, p. 666.
5. Protokoll, 1868, p. 6.
6. Protokoll, 1882, p. 20.

going to continue to come to the New World, synodical President Erland Carlsson thanked God for the fact that the Augustana congregations had been organized and established "before this storm broke out." ("innan detta owäder bröt ut. . ."[1]

But that did not help the situation in Sweden. How did this happen in a nation which was once as churchly and orthodox as ever a nation was? A variety of answers can be supplied, though one suspects that the full answer has not yet been unearthed. The breakup of Sweden's old agricultural society, described in Part One of this study, definitely played its role. The industrialization and urbanization of the nation was a natural complement of this first factor. Doctor Hasselquist, the Christian journalist, lays the blame (in part, at least) at the feet of the Swedish newspapers which persistently sowed the seeds of doubt and unbelief.[2] But the greatest single reason for this deterioration, perhaps, was the basically conservative attitude of the Swedish Church and its leaders in the face of the social alterations which took place in Sweden during the nineteenth century. The Swedish Church did not understand this new age; it often stood in the way of necessary social legislation; it looked backward instead of forward in too many cases. As a result, numerous Swedes were alienated from the church. The coming of the socialist creed to Sweden probably served to deepen and hasten this separation of church and people.[3] Be that as it may, the result in terms of the American scene was of a twofold nature : many immigrant Swedes failed to affiliate with any church group, and of those that did, many

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1. Protokoll, 1885, p. 12.
2. From a letter, T. N. Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, dated May 31, 1869, as cited in G. Westin, Emigranterna, p. 232.
3. Minnesota Referat, 1917, p. 23.

joined non-Lutheran churches.[1]

The new wave of immigration had, as would be expected, profound implications for the Augustana Synod. For one thing, it taxed the synod's home mission agencies to the breaking point. The Minnesota Conference finally had to admit (1882) that its pastors couldn't possibly visit all of the places in which Swedes were settled.[2] The shortage of pastors also entered in.[3] In spite of this, however, the synod continued to grow larger. Pastor Erland Carlsson wrote to a friend in Sweden in 1869 that the Augustana congregations were growing "with unbelievable speed," and that the church buildings were "becoming too small."[4] The confirmed membership of the synod increased by more than one-hundred thousand in the thirty years between 1870 and 1900.[5] No more need be said to demonstrate that not all of the later immigrants were numbered among the "faithless children."

But equally important as its numerical growth was the strengthening of the synod's conservative spirit during this particular period. Theologically, it can be said that the synod became even more intensely Lutheran while the number of immigrants increased,[6] a development which was heightened by conflict with non-Lutheran Swedes. No theological concessions were made, not even in the interests of numerical growth. But this conservatism expressed itself in other ways as well. For example, the synod retained

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1. Dr. Oscar A. Benson reached a similar conclusion in his study; op. cit., p. 128.
2. Protokoll, 1882, p. 20.
3. From a letter, T. N. Hasselquist to K. Almquist, dated July 3, 1871, as cited in G. Westin, Emigranterna, p. 304.
4. From a letter, Erland Carlsson to P. Wieselgren, dated March 1, 1869, as cited in G. Westin, Emigranterna, p. 223.
5. Minutes, 1953, p. 622.
6. Cf. Eric Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 181.

and emphasized its "Swedishness" during this period of hesitation in a way that one might not have expected in the 1850's. As has been seen, men like Esbjörn and Hasselquist and Erland Carlsson, as well as Norelius and Jonas Swensson and other early leaders, urged that the Swedish immigrants acclimate themselves to American ways and learn the English language just as quickly as possible. That was a rather common conviction before synod was organized. It was generally understood that the Swedish Lutheran group in the United States was not simply an "old Swedish village."[1] ("gammalsvenskby.") But as has also been shown, a definite reaction set in with the formation of the synod in 1860, and even though the Civil War did something to mitigate this trend, it was nevertheless renewed and deepened in the post-war period.

The reason is quite obvious. The church leaders who had urged, at the outset, a liberal attitude in regard to things American, had not anticipated that the number of immigrants would increase as amazingly as it did. When their miscalculation became apparent, a change of tactic was recommended. The original policy of adaptation and transition (in regard to the language, e.g.) no longer worked as well as it once did when the immigrants began to arrive in tens of thousands.[2] In order to win some of those who came in this never-ending stream, the Augustana Synod had to provide Swedish pastors who could minister to the newcomers in the only language they knew. Another practical consideration may have entered in also. As Richard Niebuhr has pointed out, immigrants often do not feel at home with their co-nationalists here in the United States if the latter

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1. O. N. Olson, "Cultural Life of the Synod," in After Seventy-five Years (Rock Island, Ill., 1935), p. 114.
2. Supra, p. 46.

have been here long enough to have become somewhat americanized. In many such cases immigrants have felt "compelled to organize new denominations which will be truer to the Old World customs."[1] The Augustana Synod apparently foresaw this danger (even though the principle had not yet been propounded), for its leaders took great pains to present a "Swedish" front to the immigrants. And they succeeded very well, too, for there has never been more than one Swedish Lutheran Church in this country. Many of the immigrant Swedes joined non-Lutheran churches here in America,[2] but a rival Swedish Lutheran Church never came into being.

But the reason for this conservative shift was not simply practical in nature; it was sentimental as well. Sweden was experiencing "the rise of a new spirit of nationalism"[3] at this time, a spirit which soon affected the expatriate Swedes of the United States too. The hordes of new immigrants brought with them "stronger contacts" with the old homeland, and this tended to awaken "a slumbering love in the hearts of the older immigrants."[4] Even Doctor Hasselquist, the erstwhile exponent of rapid americanization, was caught up in this sentimental, reactionary stream. This was particularly noticeable after he returned from a trip to Sweden in 1870.[5] Approaching old age was doubtless a complicating factor.

One of the pre-eminent hallmarks of this heightened conservatism was what Dr. O. N. Olson (who was born in 1876)[6] calls "an almost romantic

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1. H. R. Niebuhr, op. cit., p. 214.
2. Supra, pp. 107-108.
3. O. N. Olson, in After Seventy-five Years, p. 114.
4. O. F. Ander, "Some Factors in the Americanization of the Swedish Immigrant, 1850-1890," in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. XXVI (Springfield, Ill., 1934), p. 140.
5. Ibid., p. 141.
6. Minutes, 1953, p. 382.

zeal for the preservation of the Swedish language. . ."[1] As a result of this new emphasis, the necessity of gradually changing to the use of the English language in the synod was virtually lost sight of, at least by the majority. But this spirit of conservatism was manifested in other ways as well. In 1872, for example, the General Council (about which more will be said later) tried to induce the Augustana Synod to transfer Doctor Hasselquist and the Augustana Seminary's theological department to a new, joint-Lutheran seminary in Chicago. Hasselquist, it seems, was willing to consider this plan, but at the synodical meeting in 1873, it was decided that this could not be done.[2] According to Professor Ander, both Hasselquist and Norelius felt that this proposal was vetoed because of "the stronger feelings of nationality induced by the increasing number of immigrants, who made the synod 'too Swedish'" to cooperate with the General Council to that extent.[3]

V.

In the midst of all of these various fluctuations, however, the Augustana Synod possessed in its synodical school a stabilising element which did much to assure the ultimate americanization of the group in question. This school, whose history is coextensive with that of the synod, was known first of all simply as "Augustana seminariet."[4] But as its preparatory department grew in size and quality, its official name eventually became "Augustana College and Theological Seminary." Such was the case until synod decided, in 1948, to separate the school into two independent institutions (which still share the same campus in Rock Island, Illinois.)

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1. O. N. Olson, in After Seventy-five Years, p. 114.
2. Protokoll, 1873, pp. 41-42.
3. O. F. Ander, Hasselquist, p. 113.
4. The original constitution under which Augustana Seminary was operated is found in Protokoll, 1860, pp. 24-25.

The fourth article of the seminary's first (1860) constitution prescribed that the school should have a minimum of three teachers, and that of these one was to be Swedish, one Norwegian, and the third "engelska," which simply meant a man who could teach using the English language.[1] But this cosmopolitan ideal was not reached immediately. At the outset, President Esbjörn was the only teacher the school had.[2] An "English professor" was not engaged until after Esbjörn had resigned. And if Esbjörn had not resigned when he did, the fourth article of the constitution might have gone unfulfilled much longer. For he readily admitted in a letter to Norelius, written in the fall of 1862, that the "anglicising" of the Swedish youth had become repugnant to him. "I have discovered more and more," he wrote, "that I have too much Swedish blood in me to go along with the English stream."[3]

It is apparent that Esbjörn was ready to resign at any time after he had completed his second year at the seminary. Two things were needed before he could do this, however; first of all, he needed a good reason for resigning, and in the second place, he needed another position, preferably in Sweden. The good reason was provided when synod decided to transfer the seminary from Chicago to Paxton, Illinois, in 1863. Esbjörn was opposed to this move for several reasons. Above all, he felt that the school would be "speedily anglicized" as a result.[4] At the same time, he was offered the chance to return as pastor to his first parish in Sweden.[5]

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1. Protokoll, 1860, p. 24.
2. Protokoll, 1861, p. 24. Esbjörn did have a number of part time assistants, but he was the sole regular professor.
3. From a letter, L. P. Esbjörn to Eric Norelius, dated Oct. 27, 1862, as cited in Tidskrift, 1899, p. 334.
4. From the Esbjörn letter to Norelius, Oct. 27, 1862, op. cit.
5. Sam Rönnegård, Esbjörn, p. 297.

So he resigned his seminary post, and returned to Sweden to stay in 1863. Esbjörn's last years were thus lost to the Augustana Synod (he died in 1870.)

Significantly enough, it was Doctor Hasselquist who succeeded Esbjörn as seminary president in 1863. Hasselquist remained in this position until his death in 1891, and no one did more than he to shape the early history of Augustana College and Theological Seminary. His goal, commendably enough, was to build a school that would incorporate the best features of both the European and the American educational systems. In the college catalogue for 1883, for example, the teaching methods employed were described as "those which have been approved by the best educators both of Europe and America. . ."[1]

Of great importance to this study is the fact that Doctor Hasselquist did much to stimulate the americanization process on the campus where he served. Furthermore, this influence was in turn disseminated throughout the synod by the pastors and teachers who went from the Augustana campus to serve in Augustana congregations in all parts of the country. Hasselquist had functioned in Esbjörn's stead for only one year when the first "English Professor" was hired to teach at Augustana (1864).[2] Three years later Dr. S. L. Harkey, the former president of the Synod of Northern Illinois, joined Hasselquist's faculty in that capacity.[3] There were only three men on the Augustana faculty in those days, but Hasselquist insisted that one of them be "English;"[4] he did not want his students to read English

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1. Conrad Bergendoff, "Augustana," in the American-Scandinavian Review, December, 1944.
2. Protokoll, 1864, p. 13.
3. Protokoll, 1868, p. 31.
4. P. P. Person, A History of Higher Education among the Swedish Immigrants in America (Harvard D. E. thesis, 1941), p. 110.

"as it is done by the Swedes."[1] He wanted the school to help both its students and the synod prepare for the eventual transition from the Swedish to English. He could foresee that the coming generations would not want to continue to use the Swedish.

In his report to synod in 1865 Hasselquist spoke enthusiastically about the addition of an "American teacher" to the school staff, and he also made mention of the English language's "great significance for us."[2] Another American was called by the board to teach courses in science in 1881,[3] and history was made the following year when the Rev. R. F. Weidner was called to teach Hebrew in the seminary.[4] Weidner was "the first English professor in any western theological seminary either German or Scandinavian."[5] This, together with the decision to begin home mission work in using the English language, was rightly designated by synodical president Erland Carlsson as a step of "extraordinary weight" for the synod and its future.[6]

The removal of the school from Chicago to Paxton ultimately proved to be a faux pas. It was hoped that Paxton (a small city in east-central Illinois), with the college and seminary, would eventually become the center of a large Swedish colony. A railroad company, the Illinois Central, offered to pay the school a commission for land sold around Paxton by the Augustana agent.[7] But the high hopes entertained by many never materialized. For one thing, the Swedes who came to America were never greatly interested in formal colonizing schemes, as were some other national groups. Many

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1. The Paxton Record, August 3, 1865.
2. Protokoll, 1865, p. 24.
3. Protokoll, 1881, p. 43.
4. Protokoll, 1882, p. 50.
5. G. H. Trabert, English Lutheranism in the North West (Philadelphia, 1914), p. 75.
6. Protokoll, 1883, p. 15.
7. Protokoll, 1863, pp. 9-10.

Swedish families did settle down in the same areas (in Minnesota, for example), but this was not usually done according to someone's master plan. The Swedes wanted to be free to settle where they wanted, and to move when they wanted. And as it turned out, a relatively small number of Swedes decided to seek their fortunes in the Paxton area. As a result, Paxton was far removed from the center of the Swedish population. Thus it was that the school was moved to Rock Island, Illinois, its present site, in the year 1875.[1]

The road to perfect americanization at Augustana College and Theological Seminary was also full of turns and pitfalls. The heavy post-Civil War immigration not only had its effect on Hasselquist, as has been seen,[2] but it influenced the school as well. The percentage of students born in Sweden was large, and attempts to enroll Americans did not meet with much success.[3] This situation was not, of course, utterly deplorable, but its effect upon the americanization of the school is readily apparent. At the same time, there were members of synod who were not at all convinced that the college should open its doors to American students. This question boiled over into "a dreadfully hot discussion" ("en gruflig het discussion") on the floor of synod in 1884.[4] No official decision was reached. One of the pastors, Olof Olsson (who succeeded Hasselquist as president of the school in 1891), thought at that time that the school might die if too many Americans were admitted.[5]

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1. Protokoll, 1873, p. 23. (The decision to move the school to Rock Island was made in 1873, but there were no buildings on the campus there until 1875. That accounted for the delay in moving.)
2. Supra, pp. 106-107.
3. Cf. Protokoll, 1868, p. 34.
4. From a letter, P. A. Cederstam to E. Norelius, dated June 24, 1884, in the Cederstam Collection, Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.
5. Ibid.

In spite of all of this, however, the institution became more completely americanized all of the time. By 1883 the number of hours of instruction in English exceeded the number in Swedish by one-hundred and twenty to one-hundred and six.[1] The addition of new American members in the faculty soon became a very ordinary occurrence. The decision to use English as the exclusive language at daily chapel services was made in 1898, less than forty years after the school was founded.[2] In view of the opposition, and other obstacles, this was rapid and amazing progress.

Meanwhile, the other schools in the synod began to follow the Augustana pattern. Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, secured an "English professor" in 1878, and Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas, founded in 1881, began at once to place "English on the same level with Swedish as the medium of imparting knowledge."[3] In 1887, the president of the board of Luther Academy (Wahoo, Nebraska) referred to "our school in Rock Island" as "the heart" of the Augustana mission.[4]

VI.

A slight alteration in the structure of the Augustana Synod was effected in 1870 when the Norwegian minority decided to sever its ties with the Swedes and form a new group (the Norwegian-Danish Augustana Synod.)[5] The reasons for this peaceful separation were many and varied. One is pleased to learn that little or no rancor was involved. It is possible that nationalism played the leading role -- again. The older Norwegian

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1. The Augustana Catalogue, 1883-1884, as cited in O. F. Ander, "Some Factors, etc.," p. 143.
2. E. W. Olson, Olof Olsson (Rock Island, Ill., 1941), p. 334.
3. G. Trabert, op. cit., pp. 86-87.
4. Nebraska-konferensens Referat, 1887, p. 16.
5. Protokoll, 1870, p. 14.

leaders probably would have been content with the arrangement entered into in 1860 (an arrangement which provided many benefits for their small, struggling congregations), but as a younger group of immigrants arrived from Norway in the post-war period, this feeling began to change. Norwegian nationalism was growing more intense that time (a development which finally led to the separation of Norway and Sweden in 1905),[1] and the younger immigrants in America "had no desire to let their culture merge with the Swedish under the Scandinavian label."[2] It was felt that such a group, dominated by the Swedes, would become either too American or too Swedish to suit the Norwegians.[3] The nationalistic Norwegians wanted to preserve as much of their old world culture as possible, and it was obvious to them, as it has been to many other immigrant groups, that their own church group (employing their own language) could implement that desire as well as anything.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the Norwegians announced their withdrawal at the same synodical meeting at which the Swedes decided to affiliate with the General Council.[4] This step had been contemplated ever since the Council was formed in 1867, but for various reasons this was not done without some delay.[5] But did the Norwegians leave for that very reason? One might argue thus on the basis of the chronology involved, but a begging question is probably best left unanswered. In any event, it has since been demonstrated that the Swedes have been closer to the older, americanized Lutheran stock than have the Norwegians. Rela-

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1. Carl Grimberg, A History of Sweden (Rock Island, Ill., 1935), p. 333.
2. J. O. Anders, The Origins and History of Swedish Religious Organizations in Minnesota, 1853-1885 (Rock Island, Ill., 1932), p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 42.
4. Protokoll, 1870, p. 27.
5. Cf. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, pp. 160-161.

tions between the Augustana Lutheran Church and the United Lutheran Church, for example, have been much more intimate than relations between the latter group and either of the Norwegian Lutheran bodies. But be that as it may, this experiment in a bi-national synod failed.

The lesser factors were present too. For one thing, this experiment in cooperation never did succeed in reaching and affecting the congregations, the rank-and-file members on the grassroots level. The Swedes organized their own Augustana congregations, and the Norwegians did likewise.[1] There was probably little popular referendum either in the making or the breaking of these synodical ties. It is true, however, that one Norwegian congregation (from Chicago) objected strenuously to the separation. This congregation looked upon the withdrawal of the Norwegians at that time as "inexpedient and derogatory," but to no avail.[2] The split took place in due time in spite of this warm protest.

Another local problem which colored the picture and perhaps hastened the separation was the "altar book" ("altarbog") strife which agitated the Norwegian congregations in the synod. The older members of the Norwegian churches, it seems, were content to use their altarbog as they saw fit, which often meant that certain parts were left out. When the younger immigrants began to arrive, however, they insisted that the manual be used without alteration or omission, and that the service be conducted as prescribed therein. The ensuing conflict was of no mean proportions. An appeal for arbitration was made to the synodical authorities, but the Swedes refused

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1. T. C. Blegen, op. cit., p. 528.
2. From a letter written by the Deacons and Trustees of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church of Chicago to the Augustana Synod, as found in Protokoll, 1870, p. 15. No date is given.

to "involve themselves" in this purely Norwegian affair.[1] It was finally decided that the Norwegians could probably govern themselves more efficiently in a synod of their own. Thus it was that a committee of six Norwegians was chosen at synod in 1868 to work out such a plan.[2] The Swedes, apparently, were not much concerned about how the matter ended. This committee, strangely enough, took two years to formulate a plan of separation which synod accepted immediately.[3]

The synodical school, then in Paxton, also became involved. Both Swedish and Norwegian students attended this school, in keeping with the original intention, but the latter were perpetually in the minority.[4] Moreover, the Norwegian chair was not filled until 1868.[5] And the coming of the zealously Norwegian Professor Weenaas, "far from cementing the Swedish and Norwegian union, proved a prelude to schism. . ."[6] Just one year later, Weenaas and the Norwegian students asked for permission to organize their own school. Synod authorized this request,[7] and then it was that Augsburg Seminary was founded in Marshall, Wisconsin, in 1869.[8] This was certainly a "prelude to schism," for the little Augustana Synod did not have need of two seminaries. This incident may help to explain why the Norwegians waited until 1870 to sever their connections with the Augustana Synod. They may have wanted to establish their own school first.

Be that as it may, this final question may now be asked : how

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1. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, pp. 147-148.
2. Protokoll, 1868, pp. 48-49.
3. Protokoll, 1870, pp. 14-15.
4. Protokoll, 1865, p. 24.
5. Protokoll, 1868, p. 34.
6. T. C. Blegen, op. cit., p. 527.
7. Protokoll, 1869, pp. 25-26.
8. T. C. Blegen, op. cit., p. 528.

did all of this effect the truncated Swedish Augustana Synod which carried on after the "divorce" of 1870? The answer to this question, though of great potential importance for this study, is not easy to determine. The easiest change to measure is the one concerning statistics. The Augustana Synod was smaller as a result of the Norwegian defection, but only temporarily. As a matter of fact, the Swedish membership in 1871 exceeded the combined membership in 1870.[1] This result, then, was of minor consequence.

But other things can be mentioned too. The departure of the Norwegians meant, for example, that the Swedes of the Augustana Synod were left all alone in their own little ecclesiastical world. The Norwegians, to be sure, were just as Scandinavian as the Swedes, but the fact remains that they were not Swedes. They had their own customs and ideas, a slightly different language, and a somewhat different temperament. This diversity gave the pre-1870 synod a cosmopolitan character which it could not claim for some time thereafter.

At the same time, however, the absence of the hyper-conservative Norwegians probably made it easier for the Swedes to enter into ecumenical relations with other church groups. And this, in turn, may help to explain why the Swedes have been closer to the americanized branch of the Lutheran Church than have the Norwegians.[2] The Swedes of the Augustana Synod have had quite a commendable record on this score, and perhaps they have done better without the original Norwegian element than they would have with them.

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1. The combined membership before the separation in 1870 was 18,819 (cf. Protokoll, 1870, p. 56); of this number 1,784 were listed as members of the Norwegian congregations. The total confirmed membership in 1871 was 19,355 (cf. Protokoll, 1871, p. 56). Hence there was a net gain in spite of the loss of nearly 2,000 members.
2. Supra, pp. 117-118.

VII.

The next important milestone in the history of the Augustana Synod was its affiliation with the General Council in the same year as the Norwegian defection, 1870.[1] And it is not without significance that this did not happen until after the departure of the Norwegian element was assured. The General Council was organized in 1867 when a number of dissatisfied conservatives withdrew from the General Synod.[2] "This new coalition was definitely on the right wing; its theological basis was consistently conservative. The Augustana invariata and the other symbolical writings of the historic Lutheran Church were accepted by all. . ."[3] The Augustana Synod might have joined the Council earlier (President Hasselquist was very much in favor of doing so), but, with several unpleasant memories from their association with the Synod of Northern Illinois in mind, the Swedes decided to proceed with "caution."[4]

And when the step was finally taken in 1870, it appears that sentiment was divided in the synod. Pastor S. G. Öhman reports that the man who was elected to succeed Hasselquist as synodical president in 1870, Pastor Jonas Swensson, was opposed to this alliance.[5] The fact that a man who distrusted the General Council was elected to this high office by the same synod which voted to affiliate with the Council indicates that the synodical

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1. Protokoll, 1870, p. 27.
2. Gene Lund, The Origins of the American Lutheran Conference (unpublished S. T. M. thesis, Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio, 1948), pp. 24-25.
3. Ibid., p. 25.
4. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 160.
5. S. G. Öhman, Augustana-synodens Självständighetsförklaring (Worcester, Mass., 1918), p. 52.

mind was not well made up. In later years, however, responsible leaders in the synod looked back upon this decision as a wise move.[1] This partnership lasted until the General Council merged with the General Synod and the United Synod of the South to form the United Lutheran Church in America. The Augustana Synod was invited to join the U.L.C.A. at that time too, but this offer was politely declined.[2]

In spite of that, however, it is fair to say that the Augustana Synod "found" itself in many ways during the nearly fifty years that it was a part of the General Council. For one thing, it can be said that the synod consolidated its position vis-à-vis other church groups during this time. By virtue of this long association, the synod proved that it was both willing and able to work harmoniously with other Lutheran groups. That had not been demonstrated, conclusively, prior to 1870. Since that time, the Augustana Synod has also become a member of the National Lutheran Council, the American Lutheran Conference, the Lutheran World Convention and the Lutheran World Federation. In recent years, Augustana has been at the forefront in Lutheran union discussions.

At the same time, the synod's experiences in the Council helped to crystallize its attitude toward unionistic practices. There was a tendency for a time, even within the General Council, to look with some indifference upon the theological distinction between the Lutheran and the non-Lutheran points of view. But the conservative wing of the Council, with which the Augustana Synod was aligned, soon put the record straight.

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1. Augustana-synodens Referat, 1910, p. 33 (from President Eric Norelius' report.) Protokoll became Referat in 1884. Today the synodical proceedings are called the Minutes.
2. G. Lund, op. cit., p. 13.

The Akron Rule of 1872, and the better known Galesburg Rule of 1875, plainly stated that Lutheran pulpits were for Lutheran pastors only, and that Lutheran altars were reserved for Lutheran members. Doctor Norelius, writing in Augustana in 1876, said that the General Council could "break into a thousand pieces before we would deny our precious faith and confession. . ."[1] He looked upon the Galesburg Rule as an absolute must. Two years later, the Augustana delegation to the Council meeting recommended that synod resign its membership if it could be thought that its presence in the Council in any way implied an assent to unionism. The delegates were also able to report that Augustana's position against unionism was well-known in the Council.[2]

The implications of the Galesburg Rule are still normative in the Augustana Lutheran Church. In the theological discussions which preceded the formation of the American Lutheran Conference in 1930, Augustana and the four other interested Lutheran groups made it clear that Lutheran pulpits are still reserved for Lutheran pastors, etc.[3] At the same time, Augustana today has ecumenical ties and interests which are as strong as any possessed by a Lutheran body in the United States. Augustana is a member of both the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the World Council of Churches. But this in no way implies theological compromise. The Church which the present writer represents is willing to work with non-Lutheran Christians on projects worthy of mutual support (the work of the American Bible Society, e.g.), and it is also willing to admit to and discuss theological differences (at "Faith and Order" meet-

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1. Augustana, March, 1876.
2. Protokoll, 1878, p. 40.
3. Cf. the "Minneapolis Theses" in G. Lund, op. cit., pp. 87-90.

ings, e.g.), but at the same time it stands firmly and unashamedly upon the forms and the confessions of the Lutheran Church. "Unionistic" practices are discouraged today just as they were in 1875. Hence it may be said that Augustana's sojourn in the General Council assisted in the creation of a more amicable relationship to other church groups (a relationship which eventually extended even to non-Lutherans), while also serving to establish more concretely (and articulately) the limits beyond which Augustana refuses to go in associating with other groups.

Another important change that the synod experienced shortly after it became a member of the Council concerned its attitude towards "English missions," that is, the use of the English language on the home mission field. The need for such a change became increasingly serious in the second and third decades of the synod's history. Eric Norelius was among the first to recognize it. When he was the pastor of the Augustana congregation in Red Wing, Minnesota, he noticed that many of the city's more promising (and wealthy) Lutherans were being won over by the Episcopalians. This prompted him to champion "the need of purely English congregations in the cities and towns of the west when many others ridiculed and opposed them."[1] In an address delivered in Lund, Sweden, in the year 1870, Doctor Norelius claimed that the Augustana Synod could fulfill its mission in America only if "our pastors begin at once to preach in the English language. . ."[2]

The need for English missions was especially great in the larger cities, where there was more competition from the totally americanized

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1. G. H. Gerberding, The Life and Letters of W. A. Passavant (Greenville, Pa., 1906), p. 369.
2. E. Norelius, Evangeliska Lutherska Augustana-synoden i Nord Amerika och dess Mission (Lund, 1870), p. 50.

churches.[1] The rural parishes were not affected as quickly by the need for English preaching and teaching.[2] The need was also the greatest among the younger Swedes who were growing up as urban Americans. As far back as 1865 Norelius wrote the following to Doctor Passavant : "I do hope that by the grace of God we may soon be able to establish an English congregation, since otherwise many of the young people will be lost to our church."[3] As synodical president, Norelius reminded synod in 1879 of the fact that their young people had a "partiality" for the English language that the church fathers could not ignore.[4] G. H. Trabert tells of a Norwegian professor who visited a Congregationalist Sunday School in Minneapolis (ca. 1882) and found that nearly four-fifths of the pupils were Swedish; they went there "simply because of the English language."[5] Dr. S. L. Harkey noted in 1888 that the Augustana Synod "cannot hold their young people in the Swedish language. They become Americanized, unite with the Americans, use the English language, and are even now leaving them, and being proselyted from them, by the hundreds and thousands. . ."[6]

At the same time, however, this great need for a change was accompanied by certain difficulties which, at the time, were not easy to solve. Even the recruitment of English-speaking Sunday School teachers was a problem to reckon with in the first years of the synod's history. President Jonas Swensson mentioned this difficulty in his report to synod in 1872, and in the same breath he also referred to an equally important and difficult problem : English literature for the Sunday School. When an English

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1. Cf. Protokoll, 1872, p. 17, and Protokoll, 1879, p. 11.
2. Cf. Helge Nelson, op. cit., p. 4.
3. G. Gerberding, op. cit., p. 370.
4. Protokoll, 1879, p. 11.
5. G. Trabert, op. cit., p. 35.
6. The Lutheran Observer, March 16, 1888.

Sunday School was organized, he observed, it was often necessary to "use books that lack genuine Christian content, and in so doing we exchange not only the language, but the spirit itself as well. . ."[1] Such difficulties as these were real enough and knotty enough, obviously; but neither was the supreme difficulty even so. For the major stumblingblock on the road to change was rather this, that the leaders, the pastors, and the rank-and-file members of the congregations still possessed a "romantic zeal for the preservation of the Swedish language. . ."[2] The Augustana Synod of the 1870's and 1880's was still a Swedish group, and it was not easy for it to decide that its work should be carried on in a strange language. Many of its young people had a "partiality" for English, true enough; but even more immigrants knew nothing but Swedish. What was the proper course of action? For many years, too many years, the Augustana Synod was hung on the horns of this dilemma.

But the leaders of the General Council, on the other hand, realized that something had to be done to hold the younger Swedes, many of whom were turning their backs on the Lutheran Church simply because of their partiality for English. Dr. W. A. Passavant, a tower of strength in the Council and a good friend of the Swedes,[3] was especially eager "to win the Northwest for Lutheranism."[4] Fortunately enough, the Council had an English Home Mission Committee which was able to assist the Swedes in the formation of English-speaking congregations. At the outset of this attempt at cooperation, it appears that the Augustana Synod, undermanned and lacking in means

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1. Protokoll, 1872, p. 17.
2. Supra, pp. 110-111.
3. G. Stephenson, Aspects, p. 462.
4. O. N. Olson, A Century, etc., p. 37.

as it always was, welcomed the assistance provided by the Council's committee.[1]

Furthermore, additional steps pointing in this same direction were taken by and within the synod at this same time. In the year 1880, for example, the synodical committee which had been entrusted to study the ways in which the transition from the use of Swedish to the use of English could be made put forth the following recommendations : first, in the future, as many pastoral candidates as possible ought to be able to serve in both Swedish and English; second, that city congregations ought to be supplied by pastors who had mastered both languages; third, that the General Council's "Church Book" ought to be used at all English services.[2] A year later (1881), a group of pastors in the East began to publish The Augustana Observer, the first English church paper to be published in and for the Augustana Synod. Then too, in 1883 the synod decided that English congregations and pastors would be received into the synod's "fellowship" ("gemenskap").[3] Lastly, in 1886, the synod appointed a committee to translate the catechism into English.[4]

In spite of these positive, forward-looking steps, however, the Swedishness of the Augustana Synod finally won out again.[5] The Augustana Observer, for example, lasted but three years; its last issue is dated in 1884. This was a gallant attempt, but the synod, apparently, was not yet ready to support an English paper. The early history of Grace Lutheran Church, Rock Island, Illinois, is also indicative of the tempo of the times.

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1. Ibid., p. 37.
2. Protokoll, 1880, pp. 73-74.
3. Protokoll, 1883, p. 15.
4. Referat, 1886, p. 68.
5. Cf. Supra, p. 120.

This Augustana congregation, with which the present writer is acquainted, was organized as an English-speaking church in 1887. Much acrimony resulted. Many Augustana members were opposed to its formation. This congregation even discovered that it was hard to find an Augustana pastor who would accept its call. Finally, it merged with another Augustana congregation in Rock Island to form the present St. John's Lutheran Church. Its former church building, on Seventh Avenue in Rock Island, is now used as a labor union's clubroom.

The attempted cooperation on the home mission field was also doomed to have a short and rather bitter history. The assistance provided by the General Council, which was welcomed in the beginning with open arms, was soon called into question by the Augustana Synod and some of its leaders. At the synodical meeting in 1881, for example, Pastor Peter Sjöblom, the president of the Minnesota Conference, recommended the organization and support of English missions by the conferences themselves.[1] Pastor Sjöblom thought that "if the General Council should carry on this work among us, the result would be that as fast as our young people became americanized, they would join the General Council congregations, and as one may say, the life would be drained slowly but surely out of our congregations."[2] In response to this, the synod of 1882 decided that the mission work of the General Council in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Red Wing be approved, with the reservation that "said missions will stand in ecclesiastical connection with and be regulated by our synod."[3] The Council consented to this arrange-

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1. Protokoll, 1881, p. 24 (The Minnesota Conference had organized its own English missions committee in 1881).
2. Ibid., p. 24.
3. Protokoll, 1882, p. 62.

ment,[1] and it was never permitted to forget that that was the agreement under which it was working with the Augustana Synod. In 1887 the synod saw fit to remind the Council that its home mission work could not be transfered to any other authority. The language and the "special features of the mission field" were cited as the reasons for this decision.[2] The first English Lutheran congregations in Minneapolis and St. Paul were organized in 1883, and they both became members of the Augustana Synod.[3]

Matters finally came to a head in 1891. By that time there were several English congregations in the Augustana Synod, and it appears that the members of these congregations were rather impatient with the domination of a foreign-language synod. They were too loyal to leave the synod, and too fully americanized (comparatively speaking) to feel completely at home within it. Thus it was that the suggestion was made that a separate "English Conference" be formed within the synod for these English-speaking congregations. This plan had many proponents, but the opposition was too strong; as a result, "the idea of an English Conference was laid aside."[4] This was in 1888. The following year, the president of the synod, Pastor S. P. A. Lindahl, incorporated this observation in his annual report :

"Some years ago the need for English services and missions was rather generally recognized; today, on the other hand, one hears little about this need. But our young people have not become more Swedish because of this. The question of English missions is a matter of life or death for our synodical

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1. Protokoll, 1883, p. 67. The Council ruled that mission congregations and their pastors "shall belong to the synod to which the mother church belongs."
2. General Council Minutes, 1882, p. 41.
3. G. Trabert, op. cit., p. 113.
4. Ibid., p. 120.

future, and it ought to be taken up now and supported with zeal and strength."[1] This statement speaks for itself.

But even though the Augustana Synod as a group was still hung on the horns of its linguistic dilemma, there were other interested parties, within the synod as well as without, which insisted that steps called for by the changing times be taken. Hence, at the synodical meeting in 1891, the proposal was made that the synod freely release all of its English-speaking congregations, in order that they might organize a synod of their own. This plan had its supporters, according to Doctor Trabert, but those who were opposed saw to it that synod adjourned before a decision could be reached.[2] One of the results of that Pyrrhic victory however was this, that a rival synod, the Synod of the North West, was organized right in the major bailiwick of the Swedes. This new synod was formed in 1891, and it was received as a member of the General Council in 1893.[3] Before that, the Augustana Synod had the field in and around the state of Minnesota all to itself (as far as the General Council was concerned), but the founding of the Synod of the North West changed that situation considerably. The present writer is of the opinion that this competition might have been avoided (for some time, at least), if the language problem (and related factors) had been treated with greater foresight by the Augustana Synod.[4]

In 1890, the Augustana Synod had six-hundred and thirty-seven

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1. Referat, 1889, p. 22.
2. G. Trabert, op. cit., p. 124.
3. General Council Minutes, 1893, p. 22.
4. Dr. O. N. Olson claims (in A Century, etc., p. 37) that the Augustana Synod "accelerated" its missionary program as a result of the competition provided by the Synod of the North West, but that might have been done apart from this competition too.

congregations, and nearly eighty-five thousand confirmed members.[1] It was growing rapidly at that time (by 1895 the number of congregations had risen to eight-hundred and eighteen),[2] but the fact remains that it was still very much "The Swedish Lutheran Augustana Synod."

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1. Referat, 1891, p. 133.
2. Referat, 1896, p. 134.

PART FOUR

"The Era of Decision, 1890-1925"

Part Four - "The Era of Decision, 1890-1925."

I.

As has just been said, the Augustana Synod in 1890 was still predominantly a Swedish group, in spirit as well as in language. And at that same time, no doubt, there were thousands of members who fervently hoped that the Augustana Synod would remain that way for many years and generations. Such sentiments, however, reckoned without the strong and pervasive American environment in which the synod was growing. The Swedish heritage was still a tenacious factor, granted, but the American environment could not and would not be denied. The Augustana Synod was being exposed constantly to American influences, both secular and religious. And because these influences took an inevitable toll on the "Swedishness" of the synod, and thus did much to contribute to the ultimate americanization of this group, it will now be necessary to examine them. The secular aspects will be looked at first.

Authorities in the field appear to agree that no secular agency did more to accelerate the assimilation of foreigners (the Swedes included) than the public schools.[1] Fonkalsrud refers to the school as "the great melting pot of young America. . ."[2] It is obvious that the school exerted a greater direct influence upon the immigrant children than upon their parents. Some schools had the so-called "steamer classes," in which teachers "made contacts with the children immediately upon arrival. . ."[3] The typical

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1. W. C. Smith, Americans in the Making (New York, 1939), p. 206.
2. A. O. Fonkalsrud, The Scandinavian-American (Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1915), p. 64.
3. W. C. Smith, op. cit., p. 206.

public school teacher "took little or no account of the background of the children, who were taught that America was the greatest country in the world."[1]

But at the same time, the public school also exerted a great indirect influence upon the older immigrants. For the most part, this was done through their children or grandchildren. "The children receive their instruction at school, discuss it at home with brothers, sisters, and parents and thus all, whether young or old, come under the influence of the school. . ."[2] A writer with a German-American background, W. H. Beck, feels that the public school fixed a "great gulf" between children and parents.[3] But Dr. O. A. Benson (the present President of the Augustana Lutheran Church), who has written on the assimilation of the Swedish immigrant, did not reach the same conclusion in regard to the Swedes. He rather found, in his study, that "children are very effective agencies in the americanization of their parents."[4] W. C. Smith quotes a Swedish immigrant as follows : "I learned to speak English from my son Christian. He taught my wife and me. I learned from him of George Washington, of Abraham Lincoln, of Nathan Hale, of Grant, of a thousand others. He got it at school. . ."[5]

Mr. Beck discovered that the Scandinavians, by and large, "had no fear of the public schools in their communities."[6] As far as the Swedes are concerned, that judgment would appear to be true. The Swedish Lutherans

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1. W. Beck, Lutheran Elementary Schools inthe United States (St. Louis, Mo., 1939), p. 153.
2. A. Fonkalsrud, op. cit., pp. 64-65.
3. W. Beck, op. cit., p. 153.
4. O. A. Benson, Problems in the Accommodation of the Swede to American Culture (University of Pittsburg, 1933, Ph.D. thesis), p. 119.
5. W. Smith, op. cit., p. 206.
6. W. Beck, op. cit., p. 141.

in America were never as interested in the erection and support of full-time parochial schools as were the Germans, and, to a lesser extent, the Norwegians.[1] The Norwegians, who have always maintained a closer contact with the German synods than have the Swedes, were quite concerned for some time about the "common school" question, as they called it.[2] But at the same time, Doctor Blegen is certain that "the majority of the Norwegians, like the Swedes, cheerfully supported the public school system."[3]

To complete the record, however, it must be noted that certain leaders in the Augustana Synod did harbor misgivings about the effect of the schools on the lives of their young members. One such opinion has already been recorded.[4] In 1908, for example, the president of the Illinois Conference complained that many children in his conference couldn't understand Swedish and had no desire to learn it.[5] One can be sure that the influence of the public school was largely responsible for this situation. A few years later, the president of the Red River Valley Conference (northern Minnesota and North Dakota) remarked that the public schools imparted a concept of freedom that often militated against the faith-life of the individual on the one hand and congregational life on the other.[6] The young people just don't seem to realize, he concluded, "that the state and the community rest on God's commandments and the firm foundation of the congregation."[7] It is hardly likely that these criticisms did much to alter the basic attitude

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1. W. Beck, op. cit., p. 145.
2. T. C. Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America. The American Transition (Northfield, Minnesota, 1940), pp. 241, ff.
3. Ibid., p. 242.
4. Supra, p. 98.
5. Illinois-Konferensens Referat, 1908.
6. Red River Valley - Konferensens Referat, 1915, pp. 14-15.
7. Ibid., p. 15.

of the Swedes (the Swedish Lutherans included) to the public schools. The Swedes supported these schools, sent their children to them, and became more completely American as a result.

Loyalty to country was another secular influence which helped to make the Augustana Synod more American as the years went by. In the first place, the Swedish immigrant appears to have been a highly adaptible creature.[1] Dr. Amandus Johnson, who is probably the greatest authority on Swedish-Americana at the present time, has said that the Swede has an "inborn loyalty to his immediate surroundings," which quickly develops "into a deep loyalty to his adopted country."[2] Recollections of Sweden, he continues, are always "dominated by the more real and present fact of the everyday reality" of the new life in America.[3] Doctor Benson found that the typical Swedish immigrant "chafes under his inability to use English and is very diligent in seeking to master the new language as rapidly as possible."[4] This propensity is also indicated by the contents of the periodicals printed by and for the Augustana Synod. The present writer has perused literally thousands of these periodicals, and he discovered that the early papers, such as Hemlandet, contained a great deal of news from and about Sweden and the Swedish Church, but this emphasis gradually disappeared.

And it was only natural that the Augustana Synod would be affected in this regard by the convictions of its constituency. The Referat of the Illinois Conference, for example, contained in 1899 a resolution which thanked

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1. Cf. Introduction, p. iv.
2. Amandus Johnson, Swedish Contributions to American National Life, (New York, 1921), p. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 14.
4. O. A. Benson, op. cit., p. 115.

God for the victorious outcome of the Spanish-American War.[1] This was a very brief and small-scale struggle (compared to the Civil War, e.g.), but the members of the Augustana Synod were concerned about it nevertheless. At this same time, approximately, a group of chauvinistic Swedes (in Sweden) awakened to the fact that quite a number of their brothers and sisters were living in the United States, and a campaign was then begun by this group to assist in the maintenance of the Swedish language and Swedish literature in America. In commenting upon this endeavor in his report to synod in 1901, President Eric Norelius[2] wished this group well, and hoped that their activities might do the Augustana Synod some good. But in the same breath, he also urged all concerned to remember that they could not expect too much. "We could not and do not want to build another Sweden here in America," he concluded; "we are Americans, and we are becoming more so with the passing of the years."[3]

When World War I broke out, it would seem that the synod's first thoughts were with Sweden. Such, at least, were the sentiments expressed by the president, Dr. L. A. Johnston, in his report to the 1915 synod. Before anything was said in this report about the fate of the United States, Doctor Johnston rejoiced in the fact that Sweden was still neutral, and he expressed the hope that the situation would not change.[4] One wonders today why this preference was shown in Doctor Johnston's report. Perhaps it simply reflects the attitude of the man who wrote the report. Or perhaps the future involvement of the United States was not anticipated at that

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1. Illinois-Konferensens Referat, 1899, p. 18.
2. Doctor Norelius was president of the synod at two different times, from 1874 to 1881, and from 1899 to 1911.
3. Referat, 1901, pp. 10-11.
4. Cf. the President's Report in Referat, 1915.

time. At any rate, the Augustana Synod did have a good patriotic record after this country declared war. Before that step was taken, many Swedish-Americans (including some Augustana pastors) were pro-German.[1] But that attitude changed radically after April of 1917. More than fifteen thousand Augustana members enlisted or were drafted for war-time service.[2] This figure must have represented nearly fifteen per cent. of Augustana's male membership at that time,[3] a percentage which doubtless compares favorably with the record of other American communions. The synod of 1917 was told that "we must give the administration what help we can,"[4] and a year later it was noted that the Swedish Lutherans had proved to be faithful citizens.[5]

The increasing freedom which women enjoyed in the American society was another secular factor which helped to shape the future of the Augustana Synod. It was in 1907, for example, that the female members of the synod were given the right to vote in church affairs.[6] When the synod was first organized this right was withheld,[7] and for many years it was strenuously discouraged.[8] But the synod finally made this democratic decision more than a dozen years before the federal constitution was amended to grant

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1. Professor Stephenson says that this was the case because the Swedes could not believe that the Russians were fighting "in the interest of democracy and for the rights of smaller nations." Cf. his A History of American Immigration (Boston, 1926), p. 207.
2. P. O. Bersell, "Augustana-synoden och Kriget," in Korsbaneret (Rock Island, Ill., 1920), p. 82.
3. Minutes, 1953, p. 622. Synod had 187,834 confirmed members in 1915.
4. Referat, 1917, p. 20.
5. Referat, 1918, p. 16.
6. A. D. Mattson, Polity of the Augustana Synod (Rock Island, Ill., 1941), p. 298. A new congregational constitution was approved in that year (1907); woman suffrage was included for the first time.
7. Cf. the original congregational constitution (1860), Section III, article 4, as cited in E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 836.
8. The columns of Augustana were filled throughout 1907 with both pro and con opinions relative to woman suffrage.

suffrage to American women.

Further evidence of the new position of women in American society is manifested by a report from the board of the Immanuel [redacted] Deaconess Institute (of Omaha, Nebraska), issued in 1909. This eleemosynary institution was in great need of funds then, as it always has been, but its greatest need, in 1909, was for "an increased number of sisters."[1] The Lutheran churches of Europe have enjoyed considerable success in attracting women into the diaconate,[2] but such has not been the case in the United States. The Augustana diaconate was officially formed (with the approval of synod) in 1891,[3] for example, and in 1952 its total membership stood at ninety.[4] And while this is unfortunate as far as the work of the diaconate is concerned, it does help to point up the fact that Augustana women are different (in some respects) from their European counterparts. In short, they have been americanized, and for that reason above all, in the opinion of the present writer, they have not been attracted to the rather confining work of the diaconate.

But at the same time, the fact that Swedish-American women "became americanized more quickly and thoroughly than the men. . ," and "absorbed the American manners and point of view more readily,"[5] was of real importance in the larger picture of the americanization of the Augustana Synod. After 1907, it is remembered, these americanized Augustana women were given a voice in the affairs of the congregations.

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1. Referat, 1909, p. 98.
2. Cf. K. S. Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York, 1953), p. 1136.
3. Referat, 1891, p. 92.
4. Minutes, 1953, p. 284.
5. G. M. Stephenson, Aspects, p. 413.

Another important sociological factor, not, perhaps, unrelated to the foregoing, was the tendency on the part of the Swedes to intermarry with "other kinds" of people. This is not to say that this was the general rule as far as the Swedes in America are concerned, but it did take place with sufficient regularity to deserve mention in this connection. Niles Carpenter has concluded that intermarriage "provides the most direct and powerful force by which the present and the next generation may be welded together into a unified social and cultural amalgam. . ."[1] The president of the Iowa Conference observed in 1918 that "the many mixed marriages" had a marked influence on the use of the Swedish language in the Augustana Synod.[2] The family out of which the present writer came is a case in point. The father was born of pure Swedish (and Augustana) stock, while the mother is of pure German blood. The resultant home was a typical American home, in which neither the Swedish nor the German culture was stressed, and in which English was spoken exclusively. Smith makes a similar observation.[3]

Writing as synodical president in 1920, Dr. G. A. Brandelle remarked that mixed marriages were entered into by Swedish-Americans, "with or without the good will of the parents."[4] These defections from the ranks doubtless caused many heartaches for the father and mother who had to receive (and perhaps live with) a "strange" son-in-law or daughter-in-law. But studies have shown that the americanization of an immigrant's home has been hastened when he (or she) has married outside of the immigrant group. This

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1. Niles Carpenter, Immigrants and Their Children, p. 232, as cited in W. Smith, op. cit., p. 176.
2. Iowa-Konferensens Referat, 1918, p. 16.
3. W. Smith, op. cit., p. 363.
4. G. A. Brandelle, "Lutherska Kyrkan förr och nu," in Korsbaneret (Rock Island, Ill., 1920), p. 65.

is particularly true when the immigrant marries a spouse drawn from the older americanized stock. In such cases, American customs and traditions "will inevitably set the pattern for the new home. . ."[1] On the other hand, the immigrant who married his own kind usually had a home in which old-world customs and language persisted indefinitely.[2]

II.

A varied number of factors in the religious life of America also served to influence the development of the Augustana Synod. C. F. Peterson made the following observation in 1898 : "But we live in a time of great progress and in a land where nothing can stand still, even if it wants to. Today's Swedish-American church is, as a result, much different from that of the 1850's."[3] That was no doubt very obvious, and greater changes were in store. Congregational life in the Augustana Synod began to pattern itself more and more after the example of the older americanized churches. In 1896, for example, synodical president Swärd[4] complained that some of the congregations were trying "to peddle themselves ahead." The times were not good in the mid-nineties, so these congregations, President Swärd said, "peddle music, song, declamation and ice cream, and try to look as pious as possible, for the money is needed for the pastor's salary and for interest on debts."[5] One can sympathize with Doctor Swärd, but if this situation

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1. W. Smith, op. cit., p. 176.
2. Ibid., p. 177.
3. C. Peterson, Sverige i Amerika (Chicago, 1898), p. 70.
4. Dr. Norelius says that Swärd never felt at home in America. Cf. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 191.
5. Referat, 1896, p. 11.

was bad in his day, it is much worse today. In a similar vein, the president of the Nebraska Conference accused (in 1901) the Reformed element in America of infecting certain Augustana congregations with the "church kitchen" idea. "Our syföreningar ["sewing circles" or Ladies Aids] ," wrote this official, "have felt the need for these kitchens in various places. May the Lord protect us, and see to it that these do not finally become a cause of grief."[1] Again, this was just the beginning. Today many of our Augustana churches have finer kitchens than chancels.

The youth work of the synod, which has led to the formation of "Luther Leagues" in almost all of our congregations, was also copied from the older American church groups.[2] Norelius admits that the church fathers did not know what to do with this "new problem" when it first arose. Many were afraid that it would give the young people too much freedom.[3] But the good American example set by the "Epworth League" and "Christian Endeavor" was too strong to resist, even in the Augustana Synod. But one is not surprised to learn that the advent of the Luther League by no means silenced the prophets of gloom. The president of the Iowa Conference complained (in 1896) that the youth of the synod were being affected by a "superficial" ("lättare") form of American Christianity.[4] When the Leaguers dared to enjoy parties together, as a part of their social life, some of their elders began to wonder if these parties were anything more than a "somewhat refined edition of the old, infamous Swedish lekstugan (literally, "playhouse")."[5] But the frowns availed nothing. A distinct youth program was introduced

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1. Nebraska-Konferensens Referat, 1901, p. 10.
2. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 283.
3. Ibid., p. 284.
4. Iowa-Konferensens Referat, 1896, p. 17.
5. Nebraska Referat, 1901, p. 10.

into the Augustana Synod shortly before 1890, and it has enjoyed a permanent place in Augustana congregational life ever since.

The various services and rites of the Augustana congregations were also influenced by what the more American churches were doing. The use of the Sunday School was not universally popular with Augustana people at first (in the heyday of the Swedish parochial school),[1] but eventually the Sunday School became a vital part of every Augustana congregation. Synod was told in 1894 that many thousands of children were being gathered together every Sunday for instruction in God's Word.[2] In the earliest years of the synod's history, apparently, it was customary to have the young baptized in church. Shortly after the turn of the century, however, the annual report of the synodical president (Norelius) revealed that baptisms were being performed in the homes instead.[3] When it became difficult to attract members to church for Sunday evening services, Augustana pastors began to resort to "singspirations" as a means of filling their churches. These attempts were not without a measure of success. Even the young people came.[4]

The coming of the new century also witnessed the increased importance of the church choir in the Augustana worship service. V. Berger writes about this development in his "Meditations" (published in 1916), and he for one was not happy about it. The choir, with the occasional help of soloists and quartettes, said Berger, presents a virtual concert program at some services. Choir appearances are announced early and late as a particularly

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1. Cf. Supra, pp. 98-99.
2. Referat, 1894, p. 20.
3. Referat, 1905, p. 11.
4. Illinois Referat, 1907, p. 17.

attractive part of the service. Finally, said he, congregational singing has had to take a subordinate place because of the prominence of the church choir.[1] That observation from the days of World War I might just as well have been written today, as far as the Augustana Church is concerned.

The history of church discipline within Augustana circles is also indicative of American influence. In the first years, Augustana pastors and churches, faithful to the prevalent American pattern, sought to practice kyrkotukt in the strictest possible way. Doctor Hasselquist wrote to a friend in Sweden in 1868, and told of disciplining members who thought that they could go to church infrequently, but attend balls and the theatre with regularity (even on Sundays), and still remain members in good standing.[2] This activity was never popular, most likely, and it probably did little good, but the attempt was made at any rate. And the need continued. President Sjöblom of the Minnesota Conference referred (in 1892) to cases of abortion that were reported from his congregations. Staunch Swede that he was, Sjöblom wanted to put the blame for this on "americaniseringen,"[3] but that was hardly warranted. C. F. Peterson, who wrote in 1898, said that "the general situation has made a certain amount of strict church discipline necessary."[4] But that was easier said than done, and in the long run discipline in American churches, Augustana included, has virtually ceased, except in extreme cases. Dr. C. A. Lund, then the president of the Superior Conference, made the following observation in 1913 : "It ought to be recognized, that church discipline in our congregations is not what

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1. V. Berger, op. cit., p. 65.
2. Letter, T. N. Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, dated Jan. 3, 1868, as cited in G. Westin, Emigranterna, p. 157.
3. Minnesota-Konferensens Referat, 1892, p. 22.
4. C. Peterson, op. cit., p. 70.

it should be. We (and other church groups too) have lost the authority we once possessed."[1]

The pastors of the Augustana Synod did not escape the American influence altogether either. For one thing, the typical Augustana pastor has probably never enjoyed the rather lordly position of those who have served in a similar capacity in the Church of Sweden. In Sweden the pastor is still a "Herr pastor;" in the Augustana Church the pastor has been more of a man among men. This is entirely natural, of course, inasmuch as the social stratification of the Old World never quite made a go of it here in the New. But there are other explanations too. Peterson feels that this attitude developed early in the history of the synod, when the laymen came to realize that their pastors, badly trained as many of them were, weren't nearly as superior as the men before whom they had bowed and curtsied in Sweden. Peterson cites the hasty and superficial education of many of these first pastors as the basic reason for this rather disdainful treatment accorded to them.[2]

Pastor P. A. Cederstam, who was born in Sweden in 1830,[3] sent a letter to Norelius in 1894 which includes an interesting appraisal of church life and pastors of that era. In his opinion, "the spirit of American Christianity is making itself felt more and more in the congregations. The old Lutheran Kristendomen does remain, here and there, among some of the older believers, and is tolerated out of respect for the old, but that seems to be all. The young pastors want to go with the times and make themselves

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1. Superior-Konferensens Referat, 1913, p. 20.
2. C. Peterson, op. cit., p. 70.
3. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. I, p. 575.

popular. . ."[1] One is left to speculate concerning that which, in Rev. Cederstam's opinion, made an Augustana pastor "popular" in the nineties. Perhaps it was the use of the English language (about which more will be said later). Perhaps it was his willingness to employ Reformed or otherwise typically American church practices, some of which were alluded to above. Or again, probably it was because he was somewhat more tolerant than his older brothers in the Augustana ministerium.[2] At any rate, a new type of Augustana pastor was in the making, and when the transformation was completed, a typically American Lutheran clergyman had been created.

The Augustana pastor also came to learn, in time, that he was expected to be something of a junior executive too as he prosecuted the ministerium verbi divini. President Swärd, who had been ordained in Sweden in 1869,[3] observed in his annual report in 1895 that "the much preaching, and in particular the many organizations are said to have an unwholesome and deadening influence on the pastors. They must be the very soul of these organizations, and they must always be thinking of something new."[4] The kyrkoherde in Sweden is not usually encumbered with a multiplicity of organizations, but his American counterpart is hardly ever so fortunate. As a result, the typical Augustana pastor, like the average American cleric, is more activistic but probably less profound than the typical Swedish (or European) pastor.

When examined from the point of view of theology, it does not seem that the Augustana Church has changed appreciably in its ninety-four year

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1. Letter, P. A. Cederstam to E. Norelius, dated Oct. 8, 1894. In the Cederstam Collection, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois.
2. Cf. in this connection C. Peterson, op. cit., p. 71.
3. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 191.
4. Referat, 1895, p. 9.

history in the United States. Its ministerial candidates are still required to subscribe to the Lutheran confessions, just as Esbjörn and Hasselquist and the others did in 1860, and the theology of the Augustana pulpit has always been conservatively Lutheran. The disciples of P. P. Waldenström, who denied the orthodox view of the atonement, managed to harass the synod for a time (in the 1870's), and even tempted some of its members to leave the Lutheran Church. But the synod survived and remained as Lutheran as ever.

The president of the Iowa Conference said at the turn of the century that "our congregations are faithful to the confessions, and they seem to become more faithful all of the time."[1] Some of the people were attracted by non-Lutheran revivalism at this same time,[2] particularly those who lived in the country and in smaller towns. The Iowa official quoted above subsequently recommended that Augustana pastors might hold their own "revival meetings" ("väckelsemöten") to meet the competition, but only if such meetings were conducted in an "evangelical, Lutheran, and conservative spirit."[3] But American revivalism did not prosper in the Augustana Synod, chiefly because revivalism and a "Lutheran and conservative spirit" do not associate very well. On the other hand, there were those who felt that the synod was reaching "higher intellectual ground" at the end of the last century, and that the teachings of the church were receiving "a better interpretation" as a result.[4] The Herr Berger quoted above thought that he noticed certain Reformed emphases in the teaching of the synod some forty

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1. Iowa-Konferensens Referat, 1899, p. 12.
2. Ibid., p. 12.
3. Iowa-Konferensens Referat, 1900, p. 12.
4. C. Peterson, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

years ago. "But I am certainly not maintaining," he said, "that congregational life in the Augustana Synod is characterized by such, far from it; but I do believe that certain features in this congregational life betray their Reformed origin. . ."[1]

In regard to social consciousness, the Augustana Synod has probably been as typically American as it is possible for a Lutheran group to be. The synod has never been too deeply involved in politics, at least not since the time of Lincoln and the Civil War.[2] But it has shown a deep interest in the work of temperance societies, following in this, no doubt, the example set by many of the early pastors.[3] At least one authority feels that the Augustana Synod has been more interested in this work than any of the other Scandinavian Lutheran groups.[4] Temperance addresses have been regular features in some Augustana congregations.[5] W.C.T.U. cells can still be found which have members drawn from Augustana ranks. The present writer addressed such a group, in Kansas, while still a seminary student in 1944.

The Augustana Synod has also been affected by American religious opinion in regard to its attitude toward lodgery. Some former immigrants groups, of which the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod is doubtless the best example, have taken an adamant stand against secret societies. Masons will not be received as members in most Missouri congregations. The Augustana Synod, on the other hand, has come to take "an attitude of neutrality"[6] in this matter.

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1. V. Berger, op. cit., p. 62.
2. Supra, p. 67.
3. Cf. supra, p. 53.
4. Paul Spaude, The Lutheran Church under American Influence (Burlington, Iowa, 1943), p. 231.
5. Illinois-konferensens Referat, 1907, p. 17.
6. P. Spaude, op. cit., p. 132.

The democratic and independent spirit of American Christianity was clearly manifested in the Augustana Synod during the visit of a Swedish bishop in 1893. Dr. K. H. G. von Scheele, Bishop of Visby, came to America in 1893 in order to help the Swedes in the Augustana Synod celebrate the three-hundreth anniversary of the famous "Uppsala convocation,"[1] which established the Lutheran Church in Sweden. While the bishop was here, the synod met and candidates were presented for ordination. There were some who thought that Bishop von Scheele, who had been duly consecrated by the Church of Sweden, and who thus stood in apostolic succession, should have been asked to ordain the above-mentioned candidates. This, however, was not done. The bishop was present at the ordination service, but he simply sat and watched while an Augustana pastor (presumably President Swärd) performed the prescribed rite.[2] One can hope that the feelings of the good bishop were not hurt as the result of being ignored in that way. At any rate, the Augustana Synod, perhaps unwittingly, was thus telling the Church of Sweden (and all the world) that it was free and independent, and that it needed no external assistance in caring for its own affairs.

III.

In spite of these environmental influences, however, the Augustana Synod maintained its "Swedishness" long after the era of decision began. Various factors collaborated to preserve this predominantly foreign spirit, which lasted well into the twentieth century. Not least among these was

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1. Supra, p. 7.
2. Cf. C. Peterson, op. cit., p. 45.

sentiment. Many members of the synod's "old guard" grew lyrical (and perhaps somewhat unreasonable) when they spoke about their mother tongue in particular and the Swedish heritage in general. When the president of the Illinois Conference noted in 1909 that "the language of honor and of heroes" was being treated with some indifference, he came forth with the following solution : "can't our children learn two languages?"[1] He was certain that they could (he had probably done so himself), and he was confident too that the longer they used the Swedish, the better it would be for the synod. Dr. L. A. Johnston, the president of synod, said virtually the same thing five years later, using (in his annual report) the words of an unnamed conference president. "The Swedish language in America will not die out for a long time," this report maintained," and our children and grandchildren ought to learn both to read and to speak this glorious tongue."[2] Only a confirmed sentimentalist could have said (or repeated) such a thing in 1914. The tender, pro-Swedish sentiments broached at the first war-time synod (1915) have already been mentioned.[3] Because of this, perhaps, that same synod published the following resolution : "the synod desires that pastors and congregations do all in their power to preserve our beautiful Swedish language, our splendid Swedish ritual, our precious Swedish literature, yes, to preserve our Swedish heritage from the old homeland."[4]

The spirit of conservatism (which might be called a somewhat more militant form of sentimentality) also served to cloud the picture at this time. A conservative, by definition, is one who is satisfied with the

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1. Illinois-Konferensens Referat, 1909, pp. 18-19.
2. Referat, 1914, p. 21.
3. Supra, pp. 137-138.
4. Referat, 1915, p. 38.

status quo, and who, as a result, does not like to see things change. The Augustana Synod, it might be said, was rather more conservative, in many ways, than it was liberal at the turn of the century. In 1901, for example, the attention of the president of the Illinois Conference was drawn to the fact that the youth of his area were beginning to turn their backs on the Swedish language. "But," said he in his annual report, "even though we realize that we are contending against a superior force, we must exert ourselves in order that we might maintain our mother tongue just as long as possible."[1] A Nebraska pastor experimented with the use of English in his confirmation class for a time (1904), but he finally decided, "that mistake. . . will not be repeated."[2] At that same time, another Nebraska congregation, which had had English services (perhaps on Sunday evenings) for over two years, reported that they had been discontinued because of the strong opposition on the part of the older members.[3] The Kansas Conference reported a similar case three years later.[4]

But all other illustrations of conservatism (or just plain inertia) fade before the record of the Columbia Conference (in the Pacific northwest). The periodical Augustana reported editorially in 1900 that Swedish immigrants were more completely americanized in "the far west and north" than anywhere else in the country. Out there, said this report, "one can visit among Swedes without hearing a single Swedish word spoken," and if one presumes to address a Swede in the mother tongue, "he is usually looked at with a certain wonder."[5] In spite of this important fact, however, the mission

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1. Illinois Referat, 1901, p. 14.
2. Nebraska Referat, 1904, p. 10.
3. Ibid., p. 11.
4. Kansas Referat, 1907, p. 6.
5. Augustana, August 2, 1900.

committee of the Columbia Conference admitted in 1909 that it had made its first serious attempt to do mission work with the use of the English language "during the past year."[1] And three years later, after several such missions had been organized, the conference was criticized importunately by "one of our older congregations" for "throwing away money" in this "needless" manner.[2] No more need be said.

This conservatism also helped to promote a spirit of exclusiveness among Augustana members and congregations, a spirit which did little to help in the transition from Swedish synod to American church. It was argued, of course, that the synod had to remain as Swedish as possible in order to win the Swedes who already had come and the immigrants who were still arriving from Sweden. The census of 1900 revealed that there were 1,659,467 persons of Swedish descent living in the United States, but at the same time, only 457,973 Swedish-Americans were affiliated with a church (of some kind).[3] But even though that left a total of more than one million Swedish-Americans outside of the church, the fact remains that they, as individuals, were being progressively americanized, whereas the synod, as an institution, was making it a policy to be studiously Swedish.[4] This, obviously, could not work in favor of the synod. The immigration factor also decreased in importance after the turn of the century. Not only did the volume of immigration fall off markedly, but those who did come "were either persons without interest in religion or Mission Friends, Baptists and Methodists."[5]

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1. Columbia Referat, 1909, p. 23.
2. Columbia Referat, 1912, p. 11.
3. After Seventy-five Years, p. 206.
4. Cf. H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York, 1929) p. 212, who there points out that "institutions are much more conservative than individuals. . ."
5. G. Stephenson, Aspects, p. 424.

There were some staunch Lutherans too of course.

The myopic attitude of being "Swedish for the Swedes" eventually began to be modified[1] (and has now disappeared altogether), but much harm was done before Augustana churches began to open their doors to all kinds of (white) Americans. For example : in the year 1890, there were 52,171 Swedes living in the state of Iowa.[2] Many more came later. And yet, in 1952, a full generation after its emancipation from the narrow "Swedishness" of the forepart of this century, the entire Iowa Conference reported a total of 19,779 confirmed members.[3] Why the shocking discrepancy? The following is not the entire answer, but it certainly is at least partially responsible. In 1916, the president of the Iowa Conference told his people this : "As far as I am concerned, I believe that our work is first and foremost to take care of our own people. Moreover, we would find it hard to get people of other nationalities to join with us anyway, even if we threw the Swedish language completely overboard."[4] With leadership of that calibre (less than forty years ago), it is no wonder that the Iowa Conference of the Augustana Lutheran Church is as small as it still is today.

The early history of Augustana activity in the New England states is another case in point. Most of the Swedes who settled in this part of the nation came over in the later immigration (after 1880); by that time the farm land of the mid-west had been quite thoroughly settled, and the industrial revolution in Sweden was beginning to be firmly established. Thus it was that many tens of thousands of these later immigrants were

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1. Cf. Red River Valley Referat, 1915, pp. 36-37.
2. C. Sundbeck, Svenskarna i Amerika (Stockholm, 1900), p. 101.
3. Minutes, 1953, p. 623.
4. Iowa Referat, 1916, p. 14.

(or had to be) content to settle in the industrial cities of the East. As noted above, many of these later immigrants were different in various ways from those who had come earlier.[1] Not all of them, by far, were loyal Lutherans.[2] But those who were Lutheran were even "more Swedish and high church than their precursors, having left the fatherland after the läsare movement had run its course."[3] As a result, the work of the Augustana Synod in New England went ahead slowly. The mother church was founded in Brockton, Massachusetts, in 1867, but the New England Conference was not organized until 1912.[4] The first president of this conference was Dr. S. G. Öhman, an ultra-conservative in things ecclesiastical.[5] His congregations were still predominantly Swedish-speaking when he assumed office, and he apparently thought they should remain such indefinitely. In his first annual report (1913), he insisted that the children of the New England congregations be instructed throughout Sunday School and confirmation in the Swedish tongue.[6] Two years later he reminded his people, at some length, that they were descendants of Swedish Christians, and that even though they were becoming Swedish-American in certain ways, they did not have to lose their Swedishness. Said he, "I can love my bride without forgetting and denying my mother."[7] ("Jag kan älska min brud utan att glömma och förneka min mor.") When the synod decided against joining the United Lutheran Church in 1918, Doctor Öhman celebrated the victory by publishing a book entitled Augustana-synodens självständighetsförklaring (The Augustana Synod's

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1. Supra, pp. 106 ff.
2. Cf. supra, p. 152.
3. G. Stephenson, Aspects, p. 306.
4. O. Olson, Century, p. 59.
5. E. Norelius, Historia, Vol. II, p. 494.
6. New England Referat, 1913, p. 10.
7. New England Referat, 1915, p. 9.

Declaration of Independence.)[1] All of this probably made sense to the "old guard" Swedes who wanted to keep the Augustana Synod "Swedish for the Swedes," but it did not serve to provide the New England Conference with a good start in life. Dr. P. O. Bersell thinks that one can truthfully speak about the New England Conference's "lost generation,"[2] a loss incurred primarily because the congregations and the leaders of this conference were too Swedish, too exclusive, when Augustana activity first began in that area.

Augustana exclusiveness also made itself felt in this era in the field of inter-church relationships. Today the Augustana Lutheran Church is pleased to be a member of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America. However, when the National Council's progenitor, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was founded in 1908, the Augustana Synod refused to join and participate in its activities. The synod did send delegates to the Federal Council's organization meeting, but at the synodical meeting of 1909 the F.C.C.A. was reminded (via resolution) that this was done "merely as an act of courtesy, and the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod does not feel that it is now, nor has it ever been a member of said Inter-church Conference on Federation."[3]

The Augustana Synod also decided to sunder its associations with the General Council when, in 1918, the latter group voted to merge with the General Synod and the United Synod, South, in order to form the United

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1. Published in Worcester, Mass., in the autumn of 1918. Dr. Öhman moved to Sweden in 1931, and entered the Church of Sweden. Cf. Minutes, 1931, p. 18.
2. From a personal letter, Dr. P. O. Bersell to Gene Lund, dated March 15,1954. Dr. Bersell stands in the front rank among contemporary American Lutheran leaders. Born in 1882, he was ordained in 1906, was president of the Augustana Church, 1935-1951.
3. Referat, 1909, p. 31.

Lutheran Church in America.[1] The Augustana Synod was invited to join this large, new Lutheran Church, but the 1918 synod concluded that "the Augustana Synod does not see its way clear to enter the proposed merger. . ."[2] The Lutheran Companion[3] assumed editorially that the opposition to the proposed merger had "crystallized before the synod convened," inasmuch as the "vote against merging was almost unanimous."[4] This assumption is no doubt correct. As early as 1904 the powerful Minnesota Conference had petitioned synod "to cancel its connection with the General Council."[5] At that time synod refused to do so. Ten years later the president of the New York Conference warned that the Augustana Synod had to be careful lest it be "devoured" by "another branch" ("en annan gren") of the Lutheran Church in America. "The Swedish Augustana Synod," he said, "is, with God's help and support, large enough and old enough to be and to forever remain an independent church."[6] This attitude, plus the conviction that Augustana still had a special "mission" in ministering to Swedish-Americans, won the day in 1918.[7] The Augustana Synod was bitterly criticized for thus turning its back on the General Council,[8] but in later years this step has been seen in a different light.[9]

One of the most popular of the purely mechanical or organizational methods employed to perpetuate Augustana's "Swedishness" was the Swedish

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1. Supra, p. 122.
2. Referat, 1918, p. 146.
3. The Lutheran Companion is now the official organ of the Augustana Lutheran Church.
4. The Lutheran Companion, June 22, 1918, p. 307.
5. Referat, 1904, p. 121.
6. New York Referat, 1914, p. 21.
7. Dr. Bersell mentions this sense of "mission" in his letter referred to on the preceding page.
8. P. Spaude, op. cit., p. 137.
9. Osborne Hauge, Lutherans Working Together (New York, 1943), p. 17.

summer school, the vestigial remains of the synod's earlier parochial school experiment. The synod never did oppose the public schools provided by American law, but as has been seen,[1] some of the older congregations did organize and support parochial schools, in order to give their children the religious training that the public schools could not give. It was not long, however, before these schools began to disappear. Some synodical officials did not like to see this experiment fail,[2] but they were powerless to stem the tide. The best that they could do was to put this old idea into a new form. Thus it was that President Eric Norelius, in his report to synod in 1904, could state that "day schools are held some time during the summer in the majority of the congregations. . . ."[3] This was the new form, the Swedish summer school.

But this new endeavor was not destined to last for all time either. For while many of the church fathers favored it, many of the youngsters who were supposed to use these schools felt just the opposite. As early as 1896, for example, K. C. Babcock wrote in the Atlantic Monthly that "the influence of the younger people is often against" such schools, "for they look upon it as an unamerican custom. . ."[4] And the youngsters were not entirely bereft of adult assistance in this matter either. The influential Dr. C. A. Wendell said this in public in 1908 : "the attempt to perpetuate the Swedish language would be comical if it were not so pathetic. For is it possible that during five or six weeks of parochial school, under the sweltering heat of the summer, and at a time when the little ones are weary

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1. Supra, p. 98.
2. Cf. New York Referat, 1887, p. 11; Referat, 1894, p. 20.
3. Referat, 1904, p. 12.
4. K. C. Babcock, "The Scandinavian Contingent," in the Atlantic Monthly, May, 1896, p. 669.

and ill at ease. . . -- is it possible, we say, that under these conditions we shall be able to teach them so much Swedish that nine or ten months of good hard work with the language of the land will not equal it. . ?"[1]

Doctor Wendell's analysis is of double interest, inasmuch as it points not only to the "new look" of the Augustana parochial school, but also to the changed emphasis. In 1908 the Augustana summer school was not only imparting instruction in religion; it was also trying to teach boys and girls how to read and speak and understand the Swedish language. That was another important reason for stressing the value of these schools, as many did during the years preceding the end of the first World War.[2] But at the meeting of synod in 1918, President Johnston had to admit that "the day schools are disappearing from our congregations."[3] In this, his last report to synod, Doctor Johnston reemphasized the original reason for holding parochial school, viz., to impart religious instruction, but it was too late. For the parochial school had become the "Swede school," and after 1918 the "Swede school" was no longer in step with the times. It disappeared completely soon thereafter.

Another scholastic problem of this period helps to illustrate the old-world attitude which the Augustana Synod carried into the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1906, synod had proscribed all inter-collegiate athletics on the campuses of the various synodical colleges. Two years later, the students at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, and Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, sent petitions to synod,

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1. C. A. Wendell, "The Field of Labor and the Need of Laborers," an address published in the Association of English Churches : Minutes, 1908.
2. Cf.,e.g., New York Referat, 1911, p. 13; Referat, 1915, p. 20.
3. Referat, 1918, p. 20.

asking that all inter-collegiate athletics (save football) be reinstated. Synod, however, refused to change its stand.[1] In 1910 synod reversed its position and decided that its school could participate in all sports save football. Many delegates objected though, and "reserved themselves against said decision."[2] Four years later the students at Augustana, with their faculty standing behind them, again asked for permission to play inter-collegiate football. Again they were turned down.[3] But that soon changed too. As far as athletics (including football) is concerned, the americaniza-tion of Augustana colleges is as thorough and as complete as could possibly be.

IV.

It is apparent that the key factor in the ultimate transition from immigrant Augustana Synod to indigenous Augustana Church was the language problem. As long as Augustana congregations retained the Swedish language, the synod retained its predominantly old-world character and outlook. But as soon as the English language was adopted by the pastors and the congre-gations, the process of americanizing Augustana was completed almost over night. Because of its significance for this study, the language problem and its solution must be carefully considered in this final section.

As has been shown, many of the early leaders of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America were clearly interested in acquiring and using the English language just as quickly as possible.[4] Additional evidence can be adduced.

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1. Referat, 1908, p. 143.
2. Referat, 1910, p. 203.
3. Referat, 1914, p. 63.
4. Cf., e.g., supra, p. 58.

After Erland Carlsson arrived in Chicago (1853) to serve Immanuel Church, for example, "he forced English into the newly-formed Sunday Schools."[1] At the organization meeting of synod in 1860 it was decided that one thousand copies of the synodical constitution be printed in English.[2] Again, at the synodical meeting of 1864, it was recommended that members of the Augustana congregations subscribe to and read The Lutheran and Missionary, for in the opinion of synod it was "the best Lutheran church paper in the English language."[3]

In spite of these good intentions, however, the solution of the language problem in the Augustana Synod was not easy. A contributor to Augustana och Missionären observed in 1886 that the Swedes did not become English-speaking citizens simply "by the wave of the hand."[4] That was especially true in regard to their religious lives, and in that the Swedes were no different from other foreign-language groups on American soil. Richard Niebuhr says that "the language question has been one of the most difficult problems with which the immigrant churches have had to deal."[5] Dr. C. A. Swensson, the first president of Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas, and a great exponent of Swedish-Americanism, admitted in 1898 that there was no "easy solution" to the language problem in the Augustana Synod.[6]

E. J. Wolf, who wrote the book, The Lutherans in America in 1890,

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1. Augustana, April 14, 1910; cf. also the letter from L. P. Esbjörn to Eric Norelius, dated May 22, 1863, as cited in Tidskrift, 1899, p. 338.
2. Protokoll, 1860, p. 13.
3. Protokoll, 1864, p. 27.
4. Augustana och Missionären, November 10, 1886.
5. H. R. Niebuhr, op. cit., p. 211.
6. The Augustana Journal, Oct. 15, 1898, p. 2.

said that "the present decade is viewed as 'the transitional period'" in the Augustana Synod.[1] But in spite of that contemporary opinion, Doctor Norelius could say in 1895 that "there is not yet a single Swedish Lutheran congregation in which we have been forced to cease preaching in the Swedish language."[2] Twelve years later (1907), the Augustana Synod had a total of four hundred and ninety-six mission congregations, and of this number no more than five used the English language exclusively.[3] When the Association of English Churches was organized within the synod in 1908 (about which more later), it sent out a questionnaire asking how much English was used in Augustana congregations. Replies came back from one hundred and sixty-eight churches. Of that number, ninety-three had no English services whatever. The other seventy-five had occasional Sunday evening services in English, but more than half of this group, forty-two, had such services just one Sunday evening per month.[4] This evidence is cited to show that Mr. Wolf was rather too optimistic in his prediction, at least as far as the language problem went, and to further demonstrate that this problem was still very much alive in the first decade of the present century.

But even though Augustana's language problem went unsolved far into the era of decision, there were forces at work, even at the time that Mr. Wolf wrote his aforementioned book, which ultimately cut this Gordian Knot by establishing English as the official language of the synod. One such factor was the youth of the Augustana congregations. Many of these young

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1. E. J. Wolf, The Lutherans in America (New York, 1890), p. 459.
2. E. Norelius, "Aterblick pa Augustana-synodens 34 - ariga historia," in Korsbaneret (Rock Island, Ill., 1895), pp. 167-168.
3. S. E. Ochsenford, Documentary History of the General Council (Philadelphia, 1912), p. 530.
4. I. O. Nothstein, "The Language Transition in the Augustana Synod," (Rock Island, n.d.), p. 333.

Swedes were American born, and as such they wanted to be as thoroughly American as possible. According to M. L. Hansen it was typical of the second generation in all immigrant groups to want "to lose as many of the evidences of foreign origin as they could shuffle off. . ."[1] It was in this spirit, at any rate, that the youth of the Augustana Synod insisted upon the use of English in their confirmation classes,[2] Luther Leagues,[3] and so on. Thus it was that the synod of 1893 recognized the necessity of translating the catechism and the Bible History into English.[4] When a new Swedish catechism came out around the turn of the century, this too was translated into the English for the benefit of Augustana youth.[5]

These concessions, in turn, led very naturally to the need for more and more English worship services. Children who were confirmed in English, because they did not know the Swedish, or refused, at any rate, to use it, also required English services. As a result of this new development, the synod of 1907 recommended (on the basis of President Norelius' report) that the congregations which used the English for Sunday School and confirmation instruction should "arrange" a sufficient number of English services to establish their youth "in the true faith. . ."[6] The response to this need probably wasn't as general and as immediate as it should have been, but here, at any rate, was one more element which helped to emphasize the necessity of adopting the language of the land in the congregations of the Augustana Synod.

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1. M. L. Hansen, "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant," in the Augustana Historical Society Publications, Vol. VIII, part 1, p. 7.
2. Cf., e.g., Referat, 1897, p. 12.
3. Cf., e.g., Iowa Referat, 1900, p. 10; Superior Referat, 1913, p. 18.
4. The Young Observer, July, 1893.
5. Augustana, Aug. 21, 1902.
6. Referat, 1907, p. 18.

To complicate matters further (at least for those who wanted to preserve the status quo), some of the young people of the synod were not content simply to request English services. They rather demanded that this be done, and if it wasn't, they chose to leave. As far back as 1893 the president of the Illinois Conference (Dr. L. G. Abrahamson) remarked that "more young people than we suspect are drawn in every year by the American Reformed congregations, and just because of the language problem."[1] Dr. C. A. Swensson said three years later that "hundreds" of young people were leaving the Lutheran Church. "Their speaking English seems to throw them into the arms of the Reformed churches. They would rather hear Moody than Roth. They would rather sing a Sankey song than take part in a liturgical service."[2] The president of the California Conference asserted in 1910 that the American-born youth of his congregations had to have English services "if they are to remain as members. . ."[3] Smith tells of several young Swedish-Americans who left the "Swedish Church" (no further identification is given) because, as one put it, "the foreign-language churches endeavor to keep the customs and languages of the old country. . ."[4] For the time being, of course, defections from the ranks served to decrease the "American" content in the Augustana Synod, but one cannot help but feel that, in the long run, they nevertheless assisted in the adoption of the English language by this same group. The leakage was not allowed to continue forever.

The youth who attended the colleges of the Augustana Synod also contributed to the anglicizing of their church body. These schools had

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1. Illinois Referat, 1893, p. 12.
2. Quoted in The Augustana Journal, March 2, 1896, p. 2.
3. California Referat, 1910, p. 9.
4. W. Smith, op. cit., p. 329.

already solved the language problem when the present century began, according to Augustana, and because that was true, "our congregations have no choice save to go along with them."[1] There were some three thousand students at the colleges and academies of the synod in 1908,[2] and the influence which they exerted on behalf of the use of English in the congregations of the synod is easily imagined.

Another powerful force in the solution of the language problem in the Augustana Synod was the English-language periodical. As the number of Augustana members who could read the English grew, the influence of the English periodical developed accordingly. The following excerpts are illustrative of what Augustana people were reading in these journals during this crucial period. From The Augustana Journal : "Why are we not in living and continued touch with our forefathers of the seventeenth century? The answer is not far-fetched, when we say, that it was because the language question was not solved in the home, the school, and the church. Shall a like fate overtake our synod. . ?"[3] From The Lutheran Companion : "This plausible (?) selfishness which makes a language an end instead of a means is not a good conservation policy if our synod is to live. . . It will not do to sacrifice souls on the altar of nationality. Our congregations have a far higher calling than to be a mere 'national-förening.'"[4] From The Lutheran Companion : "None of us are in a hurry to 'get rid of the Swedish,' but we are 'in a hurry' to preserve these souls with or without

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1. Augustana, February 12, 1903.
2. From I. O. Nothstein, "Looking to the Future," in the Association of English Churches : Minutes, 1908.
3. J. Telleen, "The Language Question," in The Augustana Journal, April, 1895, p. 123.
4. The Lutheran Companion, July 15, 1911, p. 1; Förening means "association."

the Swedish. And if that can be done only by means of the English language we are guilty of murder or at least criminal neglect in failing to anticipate and make due provision. The Companion stands for neither Swedish nor English. It stands for the cause of Christ and the welfare of souls."[1] Dr. C. J. Södergren was the editor of the Companion at the time when these statements were published.

The hard fact of competition also entered into the picture. The formation of the Synod of the Northwest (1891) in Minnesota, for example, had an almost immediate effect (comparatively speaking) on the Augustana Synod.[2] Hence, in 1894, the ubiquitous Eric Norelius, then the president of the Minnesota Conference, told his co-workers in the conference and synod that the question they had to solve was not "whether we shall make use of the English language" in Augustana congregations. The question, as Norelius saw it, was rather this : "shall we permit English Lutheran synods to take over the English work among us, or shall we do this ourselves and try to retain the generation now growing up in our conference and synod?"[3] As noted above,[4] the Minnesota Conference had voted to organize an English mission committee back in 1881, but very little, apparently, had been accomplished. It was in 1894 that the synod decided to take matters into its own hands. Moved perhaps by the foresight of men like Norelius (who had recognized the need for English work long before this[5]), and stung by the fact that the St. John's congregation of Minneapolis had asked for dismission from the synod (in order to join another), the synod of 1894 appointed

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1. The Lutheran Companion, August 30, 1913, p. 1.
2. On the Synod of the Northwest, cf. supra, p. 130.
3. Minnesota Referat, 1894, p. 14.
4. Supra, pp. 128-129.
5. Supra, pp. 124-125.

a committee to make plans for English missions.[1] This action did not lead to an immediate change in the synod's mission emphasis (there were only five mission congregations that used English exclusively in 1907[2]), but it was another important step on the road to ultimate anglicization and americanization.

But the retention of the Swedish language on the one hand elicited the continuation of inter-church competition on the other. In 1900 the Minnesota Conference, still impotent in the field of English missions, resorted to the ignoble tactic of complaining to the synod concerning the too-successful competition provided by its arch-rival, the Synod of the Northwest. This latter group, said the complaint, "organizes congregations in the immediate vicinity of our congregations, tries to induce members of our congregations to sever their connections with our churches and join theirs, and even receives into membership such persons as have been expelled from our congregations."[3] The best that the synod could do was to "respectfully protest," and to ask the General Council to request the Synod of the Northwest to abide by the rules which were supposed to govern inter-synodical relationships in the Council.[4] But such weapons were not sufficient. And when it became apparent that Augustana's competitors were continuing to expand their English mission activity in the northwest, Pastor Telleen used the columns of Augustana to ask a plaintive,poignant question : "Must we still bide our time? Must we still sleep a little longer?"[5]

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1. Protokoll, 1894, p. 25.
2. Supra, p. 161.
3. Referat, 1900, p. 85.
4. Ibid., p. 86.
5. J. Telleen, "Augustana-synoden och engelska språket," in Augustana, July 17, 1902.

Competition came from other sources too. In 1909 the Iowa Conference was shaken by the fact that the General Synod had organized an English congregation very near to the Augustana church in the city of Des Moines. In reflecting upon this action in his annual report, the Iowa president said that he did not want to "hasten our americanization," but, he added, "we must never forget that we are in America. . ."[1] The competition provided by the reformed churches, especially in regard to Swedish-American youth, has already been noted.[2] Groups such as these also attracted older Swedish Lutherans too, chiefly because they "found it more profitable to attend an 'American' Church. . ."[3]

But the losses thus sustained were not without some value for the future of the Augustana Synod. Their English-speaking competitors, some of whom "never seemed to sleep,"[4] eventually stung the leaders of the synod into seeing more clearly than they might have otherwise the great need for English work in their own group. Said President G. A. Brandelle in 1919, "we must wake up. . . The competitors among our brothers in the faith are far ahead of us in respect to organization. They carry on their work from the point of view of contemporary demands. . ."[5]

Thus it was that the language question in the Augustana Synod was settled : slowly but surely. As the years of the era of decision went by, it might have been predicted (by an astute and impartial observer) that an English victory was inevitable. It was in 1895, for example, that synod declared that English should be used on an "equal basis" with Swedish at

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1. Iowa Referat, 1909, p. 25.
2. Supra, p. 163.
3. G. Stephenson, Aspects, p. 458.
4. Referat, 1919, p. 28.
5. Ibid., p. 28.

future meetings of the synod and its conferences.[1] The editor of Augustana recognized that the question could not be solved simply by passing resolutions (he was looking for a "practical solution"),[2] but this was an official step in the right direction even so. The Illinois Conference made some important contributions to the cause in this same decade. In 1896 this conference passed a resolution which urged that the synod's liturgy be translated into English,[3] and a year later it was reported that some of the districts in the Illinois Conference were conducting "mission meetings" (i.e., district meetings) in English.[4]

Another significant milestone on the road to eventual anglicization was the organization of the "Association of English Churches" in 1908. After agitating for some time for a separate English conference,[5] the synod's English-speaking congregations had "to content themselves" with the formation of this informal association, which did what it could "to further the use of English in the synod."[6] Interestingly enough, the petition to form the association came to the synod from an Illinois Conference congregation, Messiah Church of Chicago.[7]

Even though its powers were limited, the Association of English Churches exerted a real influence in the life of the synod. In 1910, for example, the association was granted representation on the synodical council, or executive committee, and in the same year it was decided that an abstract of the synodical minutes be printed in English.[8] In the following year

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1. Referat, 1895, p. 72.
2. Augustana, Oct. 3, 1895.
3. The Augustana Journal, Mar. 2, 1896, p. 5.
4. The Augustana Journal, Dec. 1, 1897, p. 6.
5. Cf. Supra, pp. 129-130.
6. I. O. Nothstein, Transition, pp. 332-333.
7. The Lutheran Companion, Oct. 30, 1915.
8. I. Nothstein, op. cit., p. 336.

the Association came before synod with a petition that an English Field Secretary be employed "in the interest of our English work," and synod decided "that the request be granted."[1] In the third year of its existence, the "Association produced a greater gain in communicant membership than the third year of the Augustana Synod, and that in spite of the fact that the Association had only about one-third the number of organizations congregations that the Synod had. . ."[2] In 1914 a synodical resolution thanked God for "the progress which the English work is winning and for the fruits which it has already borne."[3] The report of the Association in 1915 said that its members were pleased by the "growing spirit of co-operation and friendship manifested by the" Swedish congregations in the synod. "It is generally recognized now that the success of our English work is not detrimental but rather strengthening for our mutual cause. . ."[4]

When the second decade of the present century began, it was obvious that the English tide could not be stemmed. In keeping with this situation, President Johnston reported to synod in 1912 that the conferences had been urged to organize English congregations wherever "our peoples' spiritual needs can be best taken care of through the use of English. . ."[5] In that same year, the Nebraska Conference directed its mission committee to place an English-speaking missionary in Omaha, and to do the same in other places where "the Swedish work obviously has no future. . ."[6] Even the reluctant Columbia Conference[7] finally caught the spirit. This conference still

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1. Referat, 1911, p. 153.
2. C. M. Olander, "Our English Mission Work," in The Lutheran Companion, Mar. 16, 1912, p. 7.
3. Referat, 1914, p. 34.
4. Referat, 1915, p. 32.
5. Referat, 1912, p. 16.
6. Nebraska Referat, 1912, p. 25.
7. Cf. Supra, pp. 151-152.

held in 1914 that the Swedish Lutherans ought to "make haste slowly," but it recommended nevertheless that English Lutheran congregations be organized wherever that was "necessary and possible."[1] By 1918 there was one conference (unnamed in President Johnston's annual report) in which "a pastor who is not able to handle the language of the land definitely has no future before himself. . ; this is strongly emphasized every time a pastor is called. . ."[2]

The Lutheran Companion for March 22, 1913, carried the following news story under the heading, "Prophetic?" "At the meeting of the Illinois Conference in the Augustana College chapel on Friday evening. . , Doctor Andreen announced hymn 124 in Psalmboken and 193 in the Hymnal. The older men on the platform began to sing the old familiar words in Swedish, but the younger people in the audience took up the strain in the English language. . , and before long the latter sang with such emphasis that the Swedish tongue was drowned in the flood of English and the Swedish singers began to grow silent, one by one, till only a few of the most enthusiastic. . . continued to sing 'against great odds!'"[3] Prophetic indeed!

V.

It is apparent that the entry of the United States into the first World War was of particular importance to the anglicization and the americanization of the Augustana Synod. The flow of immigration virtually ceased during the nineteen months that our nation was at war with the Central

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1. Columbia Referat, 1914, p. 20.
2. Referat, 1918, p. 22.
3. The Lutheran Companion, March 22, 1913, p. 1.

Powers, but many Americans feared that the unassimilated foreigners already here might cause trouble. Thus it was that an extensive, official americanization campaign was begun. And even though this program was not always handled as intelligently as it might have been, "americanization took the country by storm. . . Force and suppression were its chief characteristics. To the popular mind americanization meant the curtailment of the foreign-language press, the suppression of all radical utterances, the cramming of English down the foreigner's throat. . ."[1] Several states passed legislation against the use of foreign languages.[2] Governor Harding of Iowa issued a proclamation forbidding the use of any language but English in public assemblies (including worship services).[3] The executive committee of the Iowa Conference recommended that the Augustana congregations in that state try "to. . . follow in the spirit" of this proclamation,[4] but the 1918 synod saw fit to protest against all such steps as "contrary to the American principles of freedom, for which the nation has bled and is bleeding."[5]

But this small voice of protest, naturally enough, was unable to reach the ear of the war-crazed chauvinists. The legislation which proscribed the teaching and the use of foreign languages remained on the statute books, at least until the war was won, and groups like the Augustana Synod had to make the best of it. And while it was rather difficult for the Iowa congregations, for example,[6] the synod as a whole discovered, after the battle was over, that it had suffered relatively little inconvenience as a result.[7] On the other hand, this temporary restriction of the Swedish

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1. M. R. Davie, op. cit., p. 501.
2. I. O. Nothstein, op. cit., p. 338.
3. M. Davie, op. cit., p. 502.
4. Iowa Referat, 1919, p. 15.
5. Referat, 1918, p. 28.
6. Iowa Referat, 1919, p. 15.
7. Referat, 1919, p. 27.

had demonstrated that the Augustana people were, in general, "fairly well at home in the English. . ."[1] Thus it was that this external pressure, generated by the war-time hysteria, actually assisted the Augustana Synod in the solution of its great internal problem, the language question. For the war emergency not only proved to the synod that it could give up the Swedish and still live; it also demonstrated that its outreach and influence were increased wherever and whenever the English language was used.[2] Augustana congregations also found out that their position in the community was enhanced by virtue of the adoption of the English.[3]

Post-war reports give evidence of the accelerated English program in the synod. The president of the Kansas Conference reported in 1919 that his Sunday Schools were rapidly changing over to English, and anyone who tried to resist this change, he said, usually realized that he was "sailing against the wind."[4] English worship services were becoming more common too, the Kansas leader noted; even "högmässan" (the chief morning service) was conducted in English in many congregations.[5] The California report of the same year observed that "the time is now past when any of our congregations can limit themselves to the use of the Swedish language."[6] In 1920 President Brandelle was able to announce that the use of the English language had begun "just about everywhere. . ."[7] Most of the synod's confirmation instruction was then being given in English, he said, and in one (unnamed) Conference the Luther Leagues were using this language "in

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1. Ibid., p. 27.
2. From the letter, P. O. Bersell to Gene Lund. Cf. supra, p. 155.
3. Referat, 1919, p. 20.
4. Kansas Referat, 1919, p. 13.
5. Ibid., p. 13.
6. California Referat, 1919, p. 12.
7. Referat, 1920, p. 18.

ninety-six cases out of a hundred."[1] At the next meeting of synod (1921), Doctor Brandelle, well aware of the rapid anglicization of his group, saw fit to remind synod "of its duty to preserve one or two wholly Swedish congregations in such of the larger cities, where we have many congregations and a large number of people and whither there is a large immigration. . ."[2] This specific request was not actually acted upon, but the 1921 synod did pass the following resolution : "The synod is glad to learn of the happy solution given the 'language question' among us. It also advises its pastors and congregations to see to it, that both languages are used according to the need existing during this time of transition."[3]

The 1921 report of the Augustana Book Concern (the synodical publishing house) expressed the opinion that "the synod seems to hasten to the exclusive use of the English language. . ."[4] This opinion was based on such facts as these : "the need of more devotional books, song books, helps for the Sunday-schools, and papers in English, is on the increase constantly."[5] Three years later the Book Concern admitted that it was "very difficult to sell Swedish books."[6]

So it went. The effects of the Great War, plus the quota law of 1924 (and later, the depression of 1929), which cut off the stream of immigration, combined to administer the coup de grace to the language question in the Augustana Synod. Since 1924 the synodical Minutes have been printed in English only. In that same year, the class of theological candidates

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1. Ibid., p. 18.
2. Minutes, 1921, p. 16.
3. Ibid., p. 24.
4. Ibid., p. 105.
5. Ibid., p. 105.
6. Minutes, 1924, p. 23.

was ordained in the language of the land. That was the first time that that had been done in the history of the synod.[1] The Association of English Churches lingered on until 1931, but it disbanded then in the sure conviction that its absence would not be noticed.[2]

And it was not. The disappearance of the Swedish language from the life of the Augustana Synod was equivalent to the removal of the last major barrier on the road to americanization. In 1860, the Augustana Synod was a Swedish organization; today, the Augustana Church is an American organization.

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1. I. O. Nothstein, "Transition," p. 341.
2. Ibid., p. 345.

The Conclusion.

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I.

The americanization of the Augustana Lutheran Church stands today as an accomplished fact. As one contemplates this fact, however, it is clear that the American environment has not vanquished the Swedish heritage on every point. Many vestiges of this Old World heritage are still apparent in the Augustana Church of the present time.

Chief among these, doubtless, is the staunch Lutheranism which was brought to this country by the Swedish pioneers. The immigrant Augustana Synod has become the Augustana Church, American and indigenous, but today as ninety-four years ago, Augustana pastors preach the word and administer the sacraments in keeping with the best Lutheran traditions. Those who worship in Augustana churches today still hear expositions of Biblical texts and themes. Luther's catechism has not been displaced in the teaching of the young, who are admitted to full church membership only after they have been confirmed. The confessional writings of the sixteenth century are still subscribed to, even though it is no longer held (if indeed it ever was) that these are virtually canonical, and ipso facto inerrant in all things.

The liturgical standards and practices brought over from Sweden a hundred years ago and more are still an integral part of the americanized Augustana Lutheran Church. Some Augustana congregations have adopted the Common Service (this is particularly true of newer congregations which serve a mixed Lutheran constituency), but the great majority still use

the service prescribed in the Augustana Hymnal. This service was secured by the simple process of translating the Swedish högmässa (literally, "high mass") into English. Pastoral whims may embellish this service here and there (usually to great disadvantage), but the liturgical base, which was borrowed from Sweden, remains even so. A liturgical innovation deplored by many has been the introduction of the individual communion glasses into most (if not all) Augustana churches. The Church of Sweden still uses the common cup.

The Swedish heritage is apparent too in the training of Augustana ministerial candidates. Augustana has gradually raised its academic standards for graduation and ordination, and today it might be said that they compare favorably with those prescribed by the Church of Sweden. An eight-year course of study is now required of Augustana candidates, four in college (preferably liberal arts), and four in the seminary. The curriculum at Augustana Seminary (Rock Island, Illinois) is supremely theological, with an emphasis on New Testament studies and systematic theology (dogmatics). At the same time, the practical aspects of the pastoral calling are stressed at Augustana Seminary (in a typically American way) as they are not (yet) in the theological faculties of Sweden. Pedagogic methods are also rather different. In spite of this, however, the similarities are greater than are the differences.

The puritanic and pietistic strains of nineteenth century Swedish Lutheranism have also lived on in the Augustana Church. The Lutheran Companion still carries an occasional letter (from certain Augustana members) which decries the evils of smoking. Ballroom dancing is still proscribed at all Augustana colleges. Wedding dances, which are common among the

German Lutherans, are unheard of in Augustana circles. Theater-going is a questionable habit in the minds of many. This puritanic attitude is hardly characteristic of the contemporary Augustana constituency, taken by and large, but it can still be found, without too much trouble.

The pietistic strain in the Augustana Church has matured in a rather quiet and unostentatious manner. Gaudy revivals and pious exhibitionism have never found a place in this group. For the most part, the piety of the Augustana variety has expressed itself in humble, faithful Christian living, in a willingness to serve God and man in and through the church. Prayer cells and Bible study groups have sometimes been formed in order to give this piety fuller expression, but this has not been the rule, at least not in recent years. This piety is not profoundly reflective, and not at all mystical. Like its Swedish prototype, it is more "practical." Its concern for the lost has done much to undergird Augustana missionary activity. It has also helped to produce an emphasis on evangelism in Augustana circles, a quiet, dignified type of evangelism which has emphasized the importance of the local congregation and the participation of the laity.

II.

The catalogue of American accretions in the ninety-four year history of the Augustana Church is even more lengthy. It has been stated that the theology of the Augustana Church is still Lutheran, as it has been since 1860. Schmucker and Bushnell and liberalism and modernism have not essentially altered this firm theological base. At the same time, however, it is just as true that the americanized Augustana Church interprets and

explains this Lutheran emphasis in a way that is not characteristically Swedish. Swedish preaching, for example, is still inclined to be somewhat scholarly and, perhaps, impersonal. Augustana preaching, on the other hand, is rather more "down-to-earth," and less profound as seen from a strict theological point of view. It is probably more interesting too. The entire atmosphere in the typical Augustana church is distinctly less formal than in the typical Swedish church, and the Gospel is presented in a corresponding spirit. The Gospel is the same, and the theology is consistently similar, but the approach is different. The American environment is above all responsible for the difference.

At the same time, the Augustana Church is also more democratic than is the Church of Sweden. The episcopal polity of the Church of Sweden has been entirely eschewed, and the conference and synodical presidents of the Augustana Church are much less awesome figures than are the bishops of Sweden. They also have less authority. The democratic spirit of America has also placed greater responsibility in the hands of Augustana laymen, and this, in turn, has promoted lay activity. Consecrated laymen are vital to the work of the Augustana Church today. Without their interest and support, many of the activities of the church would have to be curtailed. Lay activity in the Church of Sweden has never been developed to the same extent. It is also fair to say that it has never been encouraged as it customarily is in the United States. The American environment has contributed even to the growth of democracy within the churches.

The average Augustana pastor is also a product of his environment. His many organizations, services, community activities and other appointments keep him quite busy. When his time isn't otherwise taken up, he is

probably out calling, either upon his own members or the unchurched in his community. He has a tendency to be relaxed, informal, and as affable as nature permits him to be. His clothing, in most instances, does not usually mark him as being "of the cloth." At the altar, however, he will wear a robe of some kind, together with a clerical collar. He probably never does much serious studying after leaving the seminary, but he does keep abreast of major theological trends and current events, in one way or another. If he is an older man (fifty or more), he can probably speak a little Swedish, or at least understand it. If younger, he is probably not bilingual.

Augustana is in earnest about its ecumenical relations today, but this, obviously, is not a trait that is uniquely American. The Church of Sweden is probably just as ecumenical-minded at the present as is Augustana. Heritage and environment in all likelihood cooperated in producing Augustana's ecumenical outlook.

The American maxim which says that "youth will be served" has also been borne out in Augustana churches. The modern Augustana church which does not have both a Sunday School and a Luther League (for confirmed children) is a rare exception. There are also "cradle rolls" and Junior Mission Bands, and church scout troops are becoming increasingly common. This emphasis upon youth work in the Augustana Church is not so much inherited as acquired. This is a typically American attribute.

Campus life in its church colleges is a further index of Augustana's americanization. These schools, by virtue of their unashamed religious emphasis, are still distinct from most of the purely secular schools which dot the American landscape. But for all of that they are as American as the football and basketball they play so zealously. They can be examined

from the academic, the social, or the recreational point of view, and the answer will be the same in each case. The Swedish language, and the History of Sweden, are at best electives in each of the five Augustana schools. The Swedish standards which still persist on these campuses are incidental, and relatively unimportant as seen in the whole.

Augustana's church architecture is strikingly domestic -- if indeed it is anything at all, taken by and large. Many of the older structures were unimaginative improvisations, utterly lacking in the charm that characterizes the typical parish church in Sweden. The dearth of funds hurt this cause, naturally, but one is tempted to believe (against his will) that the dearth of ideas was even more injurious. The neo-Gothic period brought some relief. Today, the Augustana congregation that builds commonly seeks structural utility that incorporates the best liturgical taste in nave and chancel. That now appears to be standard practice generally, at least among the Lutherans of America.

Doctor Rönnegård said, as noted in the Introduction, that americanization must mean more than the adoption of a new language. It must, and it does. Augustana does have a new language, the language of the land in which it lives and works. This, however, is but one American characteristic among many. Augustana, with the passing of the years, has become an integral part of the American scene. Certain aspects of its Old World heritage cannot and would not be spurned. These convictions, however, have not stood in the way of Augustana's accommodation to life in the New World. Faithful to its spiritual heritage, Augustana has sought and still seeks to adapt itself intelligently to the surroundings in which it has matured.

The End.

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The Bibliography.

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